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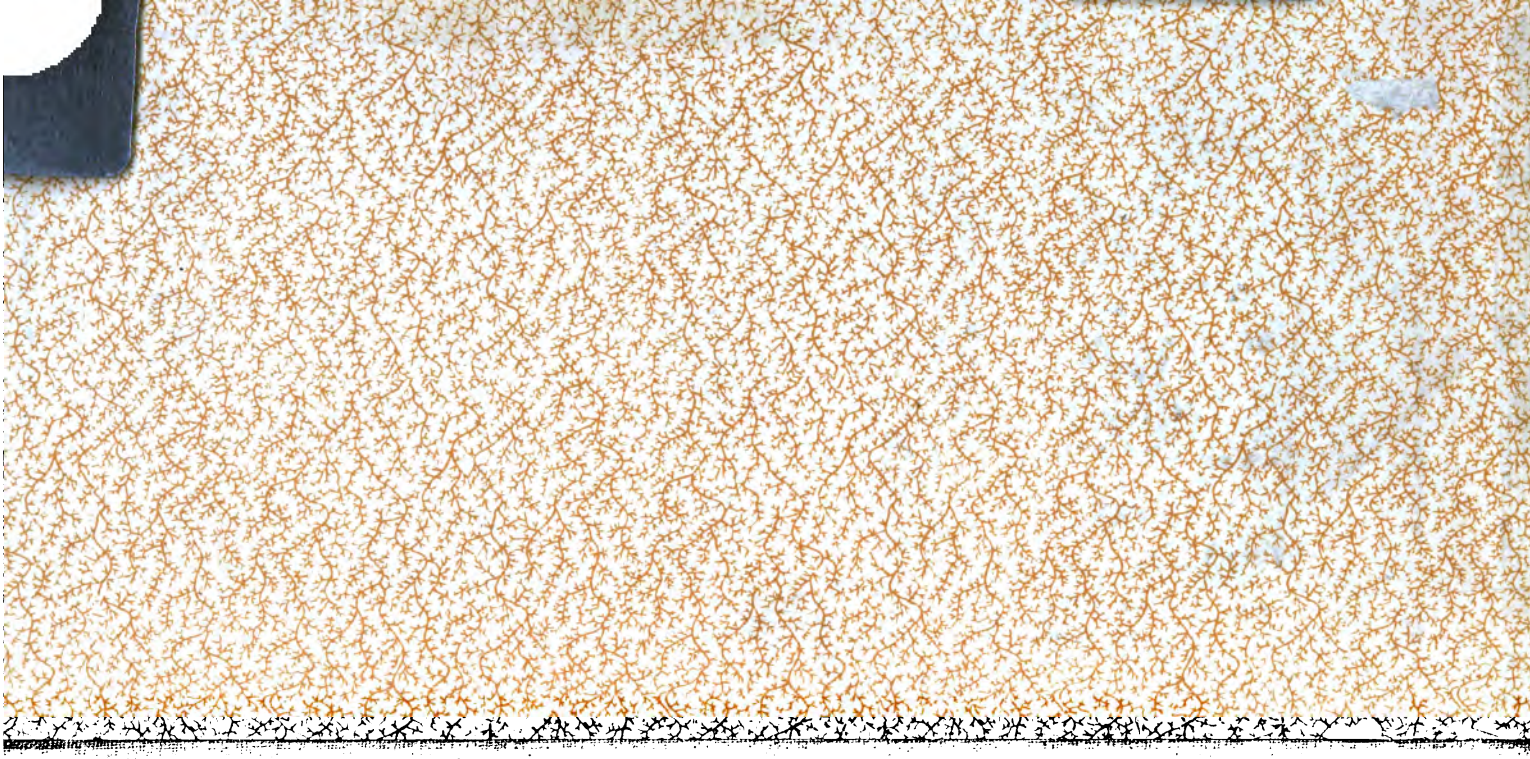

MEMOIRS

OF THE

HON. THOMAS JEFFERSON,

SECRETARY OF STATE, VICE-PRESIDENT, AND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;

CONTAINING

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THOSE STATES,

FROM THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE.

WITH A

VIEW OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS

OF

FRENCH INFLUENCE AND FRENCH PRINCIPLES

IN THAT COUNTRY.

LIBRARY

Hæc natura multitudinis est, aut servit humiliter aut superbe dominatur; libertatem quæ media est, nec spernere modice, nec habere sciunt; et non ferme desunt irarum indulgentes ministri; qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem cædes irritent.

Livius, lib. xxiv. cap. 25.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

ASTOR LIBRARY NEW-YORK

PRINTED FOR THE PURCHASERS.

1809.

DISTRICT OF NEW-YORK, *ss.*

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the seventh day of June, in the thirty-third year of the Independence of the United States of America, THOMAS HALL, of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words and figures following, to wit:

"Memoirs of the Hon. Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, Vice-Presi-
"dent, and President of the United States of America; containing a concise
"history of those States, from the acknowledgment of their independence;
"with a view of the rise and progress of French influence and French princi-
"ples in that country. Hæc natura multitudinis est, aut servit humiliter aut
"superbe dominatur; libertatem quæ media est, nec spernere modice, nec ha-
"bere sciunt; et non ferme desunt irarum indulgentes ministri; qui avidos
"atque intemperantes, plebeiorum animos, ad sanguinem et cædes irritent.
"*Livius*, lib. xxiv. cap. 25. In two volumes."

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CHARLES CLINTON,
Clerk of the District of New-York.

TO THE READER.

THE illustrious Dr. Robertson, in a letter to Mr. Gibbon, gave it as his opinion that a historian ought to write as if he were giving evidence upon oath. Few historians have been so scrupulous—yet the Doctor was certainly right—since, if a history wants truth, it wants every thing that can recommend it. Were it not for that ingredient, the history of Charles the Fifth would bear no comparison, as a work of instruction or amusement, with Fielding's History of Tom Jones, or Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield.

It is on this ground the Author of the Memoirs founds his claim to public attention. From his manner of treating the subjects he derives no pretensions to praise. Contented with amassing a number of important facts, which lay scattered in a heap of rubbish, and arranging them in the most clear and natural order, he was not at all solicitous about the style in which he dressed them; being convinced that the graces of substantial truth can derive but little, if any, advantage from the extrinsic ornaments of language. Of his FACTS *he need say nothing, as they stand* PROVED UPON RECORD—*His inferences, which are not less ca-*

pable of proof, will on that very account give great offence to a party once powerful, but now sinking beneath the accumulated weight of its own political improbity. He expects to be visited with the indignation of that party, displayed in its usual form of vulgar invective; and he will be mortified, as well as disappointed, if he does not receive it. Should that be withheld, more than one half of the credit, and of the reward he looks for, will be lost to him.

March 5, 1809.

MEMOIRS

OF

THOMAS JEFFERSON, ESQ.

&c. &c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

CONTENTS.

Preliminary matter—State of the country immediately after the treaty of peace—Insurrection in Massachusetts—Federal Constitution adopted—Washington unanimously called to the Presidency, and Mr. John Adams elected Vice-President.

WHEN an individual has greatly distinguished himself from the general mass of his fellow-citizens, and by the exertion of his intellectual faculties, by his personal actions, or by the force of his example, materially influenced public opinion, or affected the prosperity of his country, it has for ages been the custom to record the public transactions of his life, and to assign him according to the measure and importance of his works, a place in the historical annals of his nation, in order to secure the transmission of his character and conduct to after ages, as a per-

petual lesson to posterity, and as an example to be either imitated or avoided, admired or abhorred by mankind. And though it may reasonably be doubted whether the effects of this custom have been altogether so beneficial as is generally imagined, and whether the multitude of excellent histories which dignify literature in every language, have hitherto been so productive of salutary consequences to mankind as the authors of them may have hoped, and men in general are disposed to believe, there is in the awful train of events which form the materials of the following pages, enough of importance and utility as a lesson, to attract the attention, to engage the most solemn consideration, and to promote the interests of mankind, since they will display in glowing colours impostures and fraudulent schemes, by which nations, while they imagine themselves free, and, lulled by an overweening confidence in their own strength, are sunk in the treacherous arms of a fatal repose, may be ruined and robbed of their independence, their liberties, and their fame.

If a man were in imagination to go back only seventeen years, and taking his station at that period when the revolution of France, rising in blood, purpled the political horizon and cast a dubious blaze of horror and admiration over the whole of the civilized world, were thence to look forward to the present condition of Europe and America, and trace step by step the interval between, his mind would be overwhelmed and subdued by the sight, and his heart sink beneath the weight of his astonishment and grief. In that space, so inconsiderable in point

of time, though so tremendously important in point of fact, changes have taken place in human affairs, at the bare contemplation of which, the greatest human fortitude would recoil, and the soul of the most hardened sicken. The sentiments, feelings, habits, opinions, manners and morals of mankind, nay, the human mind itself, have been shaken to their foundations, by a revolution so perniciously perfect in its design, so complete in all its parts, and so irresistibly powerful in its operations, that it seems to have extended almost to the nature of man himself. All this has occurred, not only in a compass of time so very narrow as to stagger credibility, if it were not demonstrable, but at a period when men in general might reasonably have flattered themselves, that they were securely fenced against every outrage from subtle and unprincipled ambition, by the vast and universal extension of knowledge, and by a general diffusion of learning, unprecedented in the world. It ought to be particularly kept in mind, that this ruin began its career just at the time when the closets of the learned and the shelves of the unlettered, bent beneath the weight of elaborate treatises upon the benefits which the world had so largely enjoyed, and would yet still derive from the exuberant freedom of the press, and the consequent extension and communication of knowledge, to all classes of society; when it was the boast of the theorist, the daily and nightly dream of the visionary, the persuasion of the credulous, the fond hope of the weak and ignorant, and the fraudulent cant of the philosophist and the

knave, that the mind of every man, enlightened at once and fortified by learning and philosophy, would become at last the impregnable fortress of his own rights and freedom, and the defence of himself and his country against the machinations of wily despotism, and the attacks of bold ambition. According to those eulogists, the augmented circulation of letters, and the unrestrained liberty of the press, had already nearly constituted so strong and durable a security for the happiness, and above all, for the freedom of the human race, and would soon erect so lasting and insuperable a barrier between nations and tyranny, and cast such a clear and intense light upon the frauds and artifices by which, in times of darkness and ignorance, men had been cheated and enslaved, that ambition itself, finding its purposes detected, and its impostures no longer practicable, would fall back into innoxious indolence, and the most intrepid despotism shrink from the perpetration of its designs, in despair and abashment. Such was the captivating theory---a theory, no doubt perfectly consonant to speculative calculation, plausible in appearance, and in the scale of abstraction, sufficiently weighty to make every opposing argument kick the beam. But to this theory, experience now exposes its stern and invincible front, and backed with an innumerable host of facts, puts it and its speculations to the route, overthrows them with that most irresistible of all arguments, a practical refutation, and pointing to the sad funereal train of events, part of which this history is to com-

memorate, beats down at once, all those brilliant, but treacherous fallacies, and extinguishes all the fond Utopian hopes of the sanguine and credulous. That very boasted liberty of the press, which was pronounced, with no less confidence than the geometrician speaks of his diagram to be in effect the extirpation of despotism, has been found the most convenient and operative instrument in the hands of despots---and the apostles who preached and propagated that doctrine, the worst enemies of the liberties of mankind at large, and of that very liberty in particular. By the treacherous agency of those men, knowledge has been rendered more mischievous than ignorance---the lights which the abused liberty of the press has, of late cast upon the world, seem rather to have dazzled men's sight, blinded them with presumption and led them astray, than enlightened them with any laudable knowledge, or guided them to the paths of rectitude and truth. Ambition has, of late, by that boasted enlightenment of the world, accomplished its design by means to which, in dark ages, tyrants would have trembled to resort, and by which the multitude would have blushed to have been deceived. This diffusion of knowledge, while it multiplies and increases the capacities of the people for embracing error, has made the bold, the aspiring and the ambitious, more dextrous in the arts of deception; more skilful in giving colour to their pernicious impostures; more adroit in acting the hypocrite, and giving to villany the semblance of honest intention, at the same time

that it furnishes them with sophistry and subtle evasions to elude the monitions of honesty, to silence the feeble suggestions of remorse, and to get rid of the few compunctious scruples, with which conscience will sometimes visit the heart of the most hardened sinner.

For the establishment of these deplorable truths by undeniable evidence, the mind has not to travel very far, or to dig very deep. The proofs are within our reach. They surround us like the atmosphere in which we breathe---they cling to us and affect our very existence. There is no occasion to grope for them in the dark of early antiquity, or to wander in the twilight of later ages. All men who now live have lived to witness them. The whole have passed in the life-time of the youth whose palm yet smarts with the ferule of the preceptor; and the boarding-school miss, whose hand still reeks from the touch of her French dancing-master, has (such is the prevailing degeneracy) lisped the praise of more dangerous national impostors, and gabbled silly eulogies on more atrocious and sanguinary tyrants, than any of those who cast the shade of darkness and disgrace over the history of preceding times and other nations. Those crafty and intrepid tyrants, who stand as monumental land-marks of despotism, in the boundless expanse of past ages, dared not to attempt their purposes by means of such shallow artifices, such clumsy snares, such impudent devices, such unmasked frauds, or such palpable wickedness as he who, in this age of philosophy, illumination, and licentiousness of the press, has enslaved the fairest

part of the world, and stands highest in the esteem, the admiration, and the love of that faction which has endeavoured to enslave America also. Tyranny, without an example, and usurpation acquired by the sharpest and bloodiest sword that ever fell upon the neck of man, and maintained by unlimited murders, has, from the new lights which break from the modern press, acquired every charm that can fascinate the thoughtless and delude unsuspecting credulity into the arms of vice.

Nor need Americans cross the Atlantic to see the fatal effects of this new influx of philosophic light.--- Within the period already stated, America, more encouraged than deterred by what has passed in Europe, with a pernicious itch for imitation, has followed France in her baleful descent. It would seem as if, contrary to the ordinary progress of the human understanding, and the natural feelings of the human heart, certain people of this country wished for ruin---and wishing, sought it through the means which had before been proved to be the most successful; that far from being warned by the downfall of others, they felt emulous to rival them in madness and in mischief, and to incur the very same species of destruction, by the very same detestable means; that, like upstart antiquaries and new-made connoisseurs of high taste, they had all at once become enthusiastic admirers of ruins; that in their eyes an imposture acquired new and additional charms from the frequency of its success, and that fraud and villany became more attractive by repeated detection. With the fate of France staring them

in the face, and its history for the last twenty years, displayed before their eyes, in characters as plain, as legible, and as simple as those on the horn-book of a child, have the people of America been gradually sinking by the very same means into the same ultimate fate. The leaders of the faction in America, have uniformly had in view the same object, proceeded upon the same plans, run nearly the same course, and endeavoured by the very same means to perpetuate the same purposes as the rulers of France had done before them. An equal share of vice and ferocity in the people, and an equal share of courage and talent in their chiefs, are all that were wanting to the complete overthrow of the independence of America, and the accomplishment of a despotism, little less rigorous than that which France has purchased for herself with oceans of her own blood, and the murder of millions of her people.

In the revolutions of past ages, therefore, there is nothing at all comparable, as a lesson to posterity, to the transactions which are now to be brought in evidence of the foregoing assertions; nothing so eminently calculated to excite astonishment, to move by turns the sorrow and the indignation, the regrets and the contempt of mankind, and, therefore nothing more likely to interest the feelings, to awaken the understanding, to warm and rouse the jealousies, and correct the opinions of posterity. If the promising hopes of a mighty empire crushed to dust and scattered with the wind; if a country once blessed by heaven with a share of prosperity, unexampled in the history of the earth, but now brought to the verge, and almost tumbled into the very gulph of

ruin, by the joint effects of fraudful popular flattery, corrupt influence, and an exercise of the power acquired by that influence, rigorous, even beyond the intemperate tyranny of monarchical despotism; if a people, once proud, great, powerful and spirited, happy at home, and abroad respected, laurelled with the glory of having successfully fought their way through a ten year's war, against the most powerful empire on earth, but now, by the wicked speculations of ill-designing statesmen—by the vanity, vice and corruption of popular idols and chiefs—by the impostures of demagogues, the infatuated blindness of the people, the fury of a faction, and the madness of licentious multitudes, reduced to skulk in hiding places, from the scourge of spoliating enemies, and, bankrupt in character as in patriotism, to shrink from the danger of honourable defence, and willingly hold forth the cheek, already callous with buffetings, to be smote again and again with impunity. If these evils, and many more, inflicted by treachery under the guise of patriotism, and by despotism brawling the praise of liberty, while it rules with a rod of iron, and aggravated with the disgrace of being duped by the vilest dregs of the human race, can engage the interest, excite the sympathy, awaken the caution, stimulate the vigilance, and alarm the just jealousies of succeeding generations to any salutary effects, the political history of the American Republic, for the first four-and-twenty years of its existence, cannot fail to benefit mankind.

It was the fortune of the gentleman who stands forth the leading figure in this history, to move in an orbit

of considerable magnitude, and his choice to espouse principles and pursue systems of policy, which have agitated and affected mankind, more than any that ever before employed the labours of the historian. He came into action too, at the most extraordinary crisis of the affairs of the world. His active agency extended itself through the important space of two immense revolutions; one of them a revolution which went, as has been said, to the overthrow of the moral and political system of the civilized world, and not only subverted the long-established order of things, but overturned the opinions of men, disorganizing nations, and despoiling them of the laws, manners and usages which for centuries had made them happy and secure. As his principles and projects were intimately interwoven with the French Revolution, and closely connected with the body of philosophists, economists and illuminists in Europe, and as the circle of his conduct comprehends the whole of the transactions and views of that faction in America, of which he was at once the servitor, the patron and the idol, it necessarily adverts to a variety of matter, apparently extraneous to the title of this history, but which are nevertheless incapable of being separated from it, without breaking in upon the proper contexture of the work. To do the proposed subject adequate justice—to develope the conduct and display the character of the leading personage, and of those subordinate agents who acted either with or for him, it necessarily commences at a period some time antecedent to the

incursion of France and jacobinism upon the world, and to the detection of Mr. Jefferson's participation in the plans of the revolutionists—of his proselytism to the doctrines of the new school of morals, politics and philosophy in France, and of his open, industrious agency in their propagation and advancement. He had, during the revolutionary struggle, held a conspicuous rank, and possessed considerable influence in his own State. To this he had risen, chiefly by his intellectual exertions, which, however they might, at other times and in other places, have been estimated, were at that crisis and in that State, held to be very considerable. He had been Governor of Virginia, and in that office is said to have discovered more of the cautious politician than the soldier; and to him the credit of drawing up the Declaration of Independence has been, perhaps more generally than truly, given by the public.

The day which gave independence to the United States, raised them from their colonial condition to the rank of a nation, and severed them from the British empire, was a day of flattering aspect to the inhabitants of the new world. No people had ever greater cause to be proud—none had before them a fairer promise to be happy. After many years of sanguinary trouble, attended with more than the dangers and difficulties of warfare, to pass into a state of peace, security and rest—to be relieved from unspeakable hardships and privations—to rise from dependence upon another and a far distant country, with all its subjections and restraints, into a state of self-government and exemption from foreign con-

troul, and to be left to the free-will choice of its own government, laws and institutions, was a condition in which no enlightened people had ever before been found, and was not only sufficient to fill them with immediate exultation and joy, and with the most happy forebodings of the future, but might naturally be expected to push their hopes and their pride a little beyond the bounds of moderation. To men of unexercised minds, of little reflection, and of superficial knowledge, all around seemed lovely and felicitous. The scene that lay before them was splendid, glorious and magnificent. Every circumstance in view was tinged with the highest colouring which imaginations, warmed with gratitude, animated with success, and delighted with the indulgence of the first and fondest wishes of the heart, could impart to it; and as the dawn of that great era broke upon them, and the sun of independence diffused the lustre of novelty upon surrounding objects, not a cloud appeared to cast a shade upon the prospect. Nothing but expressions of joy, festivity and exultation, were heard over the land; and to the people, with very few exceptions, nothing seemed more impossible than that their harmony should be interrupted, that their happiness should be endangered for ages, or that any thing could arise to deprive them of the benefits and blessings they had obtained with the revolution. The unanimity with which the people had coöperated in that great and hazardous enterprise, the fortitude with which they had encountered all its dangers, sustained its hardships, and endured its privations, and the obedient and cheerful alacrity with which the

nation had, during the war, confessed the authority, yielded to the counsel, and submitted to the controul of Congress, and their military commanders, and done homage to the personal qualities of the great men whose valour and wisdom had carried them through that trying and tremendous struggle, appeared to those who were not habituated to look very deeply into the ways of men, to be a pledge for the prudent use of the bounties of heaven, so singularly bestowed upon them, and for the endless gratitude of the people, when the authority of that deserving body of patriots, heroes and sages, would expire, and when the possession of that freedom and independence, for which they had fought and shed their best blood, the restoration of peace, the withdrawing of the hostile troops, and a total exemption from military duty, should leave them at liberty to consult their inclinations, to cultivate the private virtues, to give a full swing to the indulgence of their natural feelings, and, in the meridian sunshine of prosperity, to give ample expansion to their hearts. Thus thought the many, and thus it was natural for the many to think. For a time, indeed, the recollection of the perils and labours of the revolution, lived in the minds of the people, and every heart was animated with some degree of gratitude to those who, by the patient endurance of unexampled suffering, had given freedom to their country. During that period, the people, untainted by the vitiating spirit of party, and uninfluenced by the dishonest practices of ambitious demagogues, were universally disposed to delegate the supreme authority to those

who had given freedom to the States, and to give the guardianship of their infant independence to its legitimate parents. It was imagined that the supreme power being now at the disposal of a jealous people, from whom it could not be wheedled by fraud or flattery, nor wrested by force, would follow the natural course of the human heart, and find its way into the hands of the most deserving; and at the outset of the Republic it was so. But time unfolded new views to the multitude; every day gave them a stronger sense of their own power and greater inclination to evince it by abuse. It was soon perceived that that which was unappropriated to any might be aspired to by all, and the lower classes of ambitious men and vulgar politicians, who felt themselves excluded by want of desert, from all participation in the confidence and good opinion of the people, resolved to make up their deficiency in merit, by fraud and imposition, and to disturb and pollute the stream of public opinion, which, so long as it continued to roll in its natural purity, would run in favour of the most meritorious citizens.

In every society, from the most civilized nation down to the savage, there exists a class of men who, from superior endowments, whether natural or acquired, derive the prerogative of counselling the multitude. These possess a natural authority, which never is disallowed in any community, where artificial institutions have not introduced ambition, corruption and intrigue, or where the right to counsel and to guide is not appropriated by

legal establishment. In every case, where there exists no such legalized established authority, it not only is the natural prerogative, but it is the duty of those to whom Providence has vouchsafed a larger share of intellect, and whom education, worldly circumstances, and experience have filled with knowledge, to interpose their counsel, and correct or prevent the errors of the multitude, to repress popular excesses, to confine the conduct of the people within the bounds of reason and moderation, and, in a word, to defend them from themselves—from the effects of their own folly and intemperance. This natural authority would never be disputed or resisted, if the men whom nature or circumstance has qualified for it, were always true to the station assigned them, and if, intent rather upon their duty and serving the community to which they belong than upon satiating their avarice, gratifying their vanity, or serving the purposes of their mistaken and perverted ambition, they acted upon principles of strict integrity. But that which the honest portion of those men endeavour to accomplish, is too often frustrated by the fraudulent and deceptive practices of the baser part. And as the licentious principles maintained by the latter, are more pleasing to the multitude than the moral restraints and prudential maxims recommended by the former, the consequence is, that the vicious misadvisers carry with them the affections of the multitude, and leave the others nothing to console them for the depravity of the one and the folly of the other, but the hope of obtaining by some accident, or some casual calamity of the

people, that which has been refused to reason, to virtue, and to truth. As these pernicious misleaders of their country live by the folly of the multitude, they employ all the powers they possess to increase it; and, as their hold upon the people's regards depends upon the depreciation of their adversaries, the good and the wise, they strain their invention and abandon truth, honour, honesty, and even the ordinary feelings of humanity, to calumniate them, and render them obnoxious to the hatred and suspicion of the people. This has been the game played for time immemorial in every Republic, and this is the game which has ruined every one of them, and which may (but God avert the omen) ruin the United States of America also.

Precisely in the situation which most loudly and imperiously demanded the exertion of the natural authority referred to, was the new Commonwealth at the close of the revolutionary war. The people had now the supreme power in their own hands, and it is impossible to conceive a people much more disqualified than they were rendered by a variety of circumstances, from making a wise or moderate use of it. In their best state of correction, the passions of multitudes are ungovernable, while their reason, whatever the amount of it may be, is rendered perfectly inoperative, by the impracticability of bringing it to one point of action. Bodies of men possessed of power, have ever been prone to abuse it. Robust health requires strict regimen, and in proportion to the liberty which the Americans now possessed, was the necessary demand for

their more strict and vigorous government. Resistance to authority which had, for the purposes of the revolution, been prescribed to them as a remedy, had now become habitual to them from constant application. That which was at first nauseous, and reluctantly taken as a medicine, had now become pleasing to their palates, and like their daily food, seemed necessary almost to their existence. The wholesome jealousy of power which had hitherto been so salutary, now degenerated into a distemper; and the great object of it, the British government, being removed, another was necessary to supply it with means of existence. For the very purposes of the revolution, a spirit had been raised in the country, which it was easy to foresee would, with great difficulty, if at all, be layed or confined within proper bounds. Every individual had for years been encouraged and accustomed to vaunt about his rights, and even to think any sort of government an imposition. The very lessons taught them by their orators and authors, and even those they heard from their congressional leaders, as applicable to Britain, were treasured up in every brain, to be brought forth in domestic scuffle, against those very leaders themselves; and demagogues of a subordinate class were thickly scattered through the country, to influence the tempers and poison the opinions of the mass of the people, even against that shadow of government, which yet feebly existed in Congress; to awaken their jealousies of the very men who delivered them from their recent state of dependence; to pour into their ears the

pestilent tale, that their rights were proportioned t their numbers, and commensurate with their powe and to persuade them that they had only to will an to act upon those rights, and they must prevail, sinc no effectual resistance could be made against them To those who had wisdom enough to discern th mischievous tendency of such doctrines, and wh were bold and honest enough to set their face against and expose their fallacy, the mass of th people were very little disposed to lend their atten tion, or to yield their assent. To men who had th power, and wished to persuade themselves that along with it they had the right also in their hands, nothing could be more unpalatable than the great moral truth, that power and right are very different things, and that be their power ever so great, they could not have any right inconsistent with truth and virtue, or incompatible with justice.

Even at this time, France possessed a very undue share of influence in America. From a principle of gratitude, amiable, no doubt, but mistaken, the people viewed the French monarch and his subjects, with a regard no less partial and violent, than was the animosity which they still retained towards Great-Britain. In the Congress there existed a strong party, determinately disposed to subject the interests of the United States to the will and direction of the French government, which, as they well knew, had, during the negotiations for peace, disclosed a policy hostile to the independence of America; had opposed her claim to the fisheries, and to the navigation of the Mississippi; had even urged the British ministry to

refuse to negotiate with the states, as an independent people, but to treat them still as revolted colonists; and, in a word, too plainly to be misunderstood, manifested a design to cajole the states into a surrender of themselves to France, in the same relation they had, before the war, borne to Great-Britain. Nevertheless, a powerful faction in America clung to France, and the heads of it in the Congress, were rapidly introducing a preponderance of French influence, which, on every occasion, gave a bias to the affairs of the country. The instructions given to the commissioners for treating of peace with Great-Britain, were among the fruits of this influence. Instructions of a nature which would have grievously affected the interests of the United States, if the commissioners themselves had not had the spirit and wisdom to break through the fetters which they laid upon them. Failing in their attempt to interpose between Great-Britain and the United States, in the negotiation, and to prevent the acknowledgment of American Independence, France employed her influence in preventing friendly commercial intercourse between them. Much confusion, therefore, soon followed the close of the revolutionary war; and the new independent country sunk all at once into a perfect unmixed and unmitigated democracy, subject to all the errors and impositions which had attended and brought to the ground all the antecedent democracies of the earth. And scarcely had they obtained the character and real existence of a free people, when they began to exhibit the temper peculiar to their situation. A single instance will serve to show it,

and although it may appear to have no direct connexion with the main subject of this history, it will not be entirely irrelevant to the purpose to bestow a few words upon it, in this place.

If the rewards of individuals were always fairly adjudicated, according to the services they had rendered, the danger they had incurred, and the labour they had endured, and each were to be remunerated according to the value of the benefits he had conferred upon his country, the officers of the revolutionary army of America would stand preëminently high, as candidates for national favour and retribution. Indeed, there was a time when it would be a shame thus seriously to urge so very manifest a truth. The evidences are still before the world; and every time an American speaks of the liberty and independence of his country, he bears irrefragable testimony to that proposition. He who denies the claims of that great body of patriotic men, to every honour, every mark of veneration, gratitude, and love, which a free people have it in their competence to bestow, impeaches or disavows the whole merits of the revolution, and does, in effect, deny its utility to the country. For a man to assert that that event was salutary or desirable, and to conceal or oppose the claims to reward of the men whose energies effected it, appears to be an absurdity of which a person of the humblest capacity ought to be ashamed. For a man to luxuriate in the enjoyment of all the benefits and blessings which have flowed from that event; to expatiate upon the happiness of its effects; to talk of

the glory which it reflects on the name of American, to exult in that glory, to take shelter under the privileges derived from it, or to vapour about the dignity which it confers upon him, in common with the mass of his fellow-citizens, and at the same time to conspire against and deny the reward due to the merits of the men who lavishly poured forth their blood, and with a prodigality of life and means before unheard of, risked their persons, their property and their fame, devoting years of indefatigable labour, and wasting the prime and flower of their lives in the accomplishment of it, betrays a degree of baseness, which would not be thought credible if it did not stare us in the face, with evidence open and irresistible.

For services such as this brave and patriotic band of revolutionists rendered to their country, no proportionate reward of a mere pecuniary nature could possibly be assigned, since between money and services of that nature, there is no common measure. After securing to them a respectable provision for life, there would still have been a greater and more appropriate reward to be conferred upon them by the justice and indeed by the policy of the nation—a reward of honour; that which of all others is most gratifying to the person who receives, and at the same time the cheapest to the nation that confers it. The first display of the malignant influence of demagogues on the people of independent America, and the first proof of the facility with which the latter may be deceived, and of their aptitude for unworthy jealousies and injustice to their best servants, was their thwarting the revolutionary officers, and de-

priving them of their reward in both kinds. Nor was this all—scarcely were the swords of those brave men returned dry into their scabbards, when a system of hostility nearly amounting to persecution was set on foot against them, in that very country which their valour had saved; and under colour of that very freedom which they had established by their labours and virtues, were they treated in a manner which Great-Britain, from whose gripe they had torn it, would, if permitted to pass sentence of punishment for their enmity, be ashamed to prescribe.

When the establishment of their country's independence released them from the severity of military service, when harassed with the fatigues, and in many instances shattered down into a premature old age, by loss of blood and personal hardship, each was about to unharness himself from the car of war, in order to retire to his hearth, there to give the little residue of his days to repose, and under his own vine and fig-tree to pass in domestic tranquillity an unclouded evening after the stormy day of life, and when they who had so long been companions in suffering, in danger, and in glory were to separate from each other, to break up their military association, to part with the badge which marked their brotherhood, and distinguished them from others, to be resolved down into a common fellowship with the rest of the community, it was natural to expect that the feelings which accompanied the thoughts of their parting would be painful and that their final separation would appear to them a calamity, which, how-

ever unavoidable, they would endeavour to alleviate, as much as the nature of the thing and the circumstances of the country would allow. Every generous disposition, therefore, would enter by anticipation into such feelings, and sympathize with the sufferers in circumstances so very afflicting. For some time previous to that appointed for their separation, the subject occupied the thoughts of the whole body, and particularly engaged the attention of the individuals whose minds were more than those of the rest fruitful in resource, and more ingenious in counteracting the effects of casual misfortune and in diminishing the weight of unavoidable calamities, by dexterous device and honourable expedient. With a view to perpetuate their friendship while far removed from each other, and to preserve that intercourse which had endeared them to each other in their long military travail, which had softened to them the rigours of a camp, and made "the flinty couch of war their thrice driven "bed of down," they exercised their invention to devise some institution that would tend to keep alive the memory of the army, and serve as a chain of connection to embrace them all together, however distant they might be, in one united body.

The honour of the proposition is given to General KNOX; but the plan was matured and agreed to in a meeting of general officers, and deputies of regiments, at which the veteran STEUBEN presided. At this meeting they formed themselves into a friendly society, which they resolved should endure,

not only for their own lives, but so long as their eldest male posterity should exist; and individuals who had distinguished themselves, for their patriotism and abilities, were to be admitted as honorary members for life; but these last were not to exceed in number, a ratio of one to four of this body.

In the original conception of this design, and in the general structure of the institution, every thing appears innocent and honourable; and when the purposes to which their regulations extended it are clearly weighed, it will be found laudable in its objects, as affording a likelihood of being highly beneficial to the community. The principles of the society were declared to be immutably, "an incessant "attention, on the part of the members, to the pre-"servation of the exalted rights and liberties of hu-"man nature, for which they had fought and bled, "and an unalterable determination to promote and "cherish between the respective states, union and "national honour." The objects of the society were to perpetuate the remembrance of the American Revolution, as well as to maintain cordial affection, and the spirit of brotherly kindness among the officers and their families who might require assistance.

Scarcely had this society been organized, when the whole pack of post-revolution patriots, who reserved their hostility for the friends and revolutionary heroes of the country, attacked it with the utmost ferocity. The demagogues and democrats of the day, exerted their talents in writing and speaking against it, and with little less malignity than that

which the same class of persons now employ to baleful effects, and with little less sophistry, falsehood and disingenuousness, branded the institution, as the foundation of an order of hereditary nobility, and directed the public resentment against the society. To this end, the most passionate appeals were made to the prejudices of the country, and through the medium of the most infectious language, foul and unjust insinuations were uttered against that venerable body of patriots. The revolution harpies of France had not then met at the Convent of the Jacobins; and therefore, the band of fiends who have since scattered desolation through the earth, had not then been designated by that name which is ordained to brand them in history, to the execration and astonishment of posterity. But though the name, as used in that sense, was then unknown, the thing existed in pernicious plenitude, and even at a period so far back, America began to be infested with Jacobins, of as subtle infection as any that ever haunted the Convent of that name in Paris, or joined in the diabolical orgies held at the house of Jefferson, while Minister Plenipotentiary for the United States, at the Court of France.* By the inflammatory speeches and publications of such men, and the intrigues of this faction, the minds of the

* The leading members of the Jacobin Club met at the house of Mr. Jefferson, when minister in Paris. The merit of this must not pass unnoticed.—Louis XVI. was the friend and ally of America, and helped to emancipate it: so France and the democrats of America have said, at least. What was the return? The very first Ambassador she sends to Louis, conspires with his enemies to destroy him and overturn his throne!

people were so much exasperated against the Cincinnati and its members, that the original plan was altered to please the multitude, and all the parts of it objected to by the factious demagogues were expunged, in order to convince the people that their jealousies and fears were misplaced.

Thus was the country gradually sinking into a state of the worst kind of anarchy! Liberty, having no counterpoise to controul, to regulate or preserve it, degenerated into a stupid and moody licentiousness, and the people began to exhibit symptoms of that self-willed turbulent spirit, which has betrayed so many free States into the snares of despotism, after their having undergone the afflicting ordeal of a sanguinary revolution. Hitherto, the difficulties of the times, the natural influence of the great Revolutionary Chiefs, and the authority of Congress, had kept down the heads of low-minded aspirers. For men of that description, the danger of the revolutionary struggle were too formidable; the motives to aspire being merely of a public nature, and mixed up with little temptation for sordid minds, appeared to such men inconsiderable; while the hazards that must be incurred, were of a nature, the bare contemplation of which was sufficient to subdue the paltry ambition of little souls and base dispositions, and to deter from the encounter, any but men of steady virtue and real magnanimity. So long, therefore, as the contest lay between America and the gigantic power of Britain, with its vast fleets and armies; its strict government, and its inexorable laws, the great men of America, as they braved the

danger, bore away the honour, the influence, the authority, and the power. But no sooner had the struggle been over, and the sun of independence, peace and security beamed upon the land, than the whole insect tribe of grovelling malcontents—all the vermin of low perverted ambition, warmed into life, issued forth from their obscurity, filled the air with their importunate buzzing, and commenced a malicious tantalizing hostility upon all that was good and great in the country, and upon every principle and every rule of conduct which the character and welfare of the States, and indeed, the honour of man's nature recommended to adoption.

A multitude of untoward circumstances now unexpectedly concurred to excite the most serious alarm in the minds of all the better part of the community, and suggested the expediency of bringing over the people to concur in the adoption of some form of government, competent to the correction of the evils that were gathering about and growing over them, to the suppression of that anarchic spirit which pervaded the country, and to the awarding and enforcing of law and justice. It was now perceived, what in the fervour of their desire for a separation from the mother country, and in the tumult of their joy at having obtained it, they had hitherto overlooked, that the freedom they had acquired was far from being secure, and that property, if left unprotected by laws, would, of course, soon become a prey to rapacity; that the liberty and independence for which they had bled, might sink beneath savage outrage and the licentiousness

of an ungovernable multitude, or be ravished from them by the dark designs of intrepid, enterprising ambition; and that their internal peace and domestic quiet were in hazard of being destroyed, in the struggles of unprincipled men for power. They reflected that the British government and law had long been disowned, and that the Congress which, so long as the pressure of a common danger gave it credit and coherence, had exercised the functions of a temporary government with sufficient effect, and without exciting jealousy, or encountering resistance, had now declined into a state of total insufficiency; so that there existed no legal depository of power, no acknowledged fountain of authority; and what made things much worse was that the several States, thinking themselves absolved from the bonds of union, which their being embarked in one common dangerous enterprise had so long imposed on them, now asserted each its separate independent sovereignty, and, as might be expected because it is natural to States as well as individuals sedulously and pertinaciously consulted its own particular interests, and maintained the right to its own separate regulations, without regard to the interest or regulations of the other States. Thus, let loose from all restraint, exempt from legal coercion, and resigned to the mere dictates of self-will, the morals of many became a prey to the temptations of cupidity and they took advantage of the confusion of the times to evade justice in their pecuniary obligations. A general relaxation of moral principle in money matters took place. Creditors were defrauded; the

national character was inculpated in the opinion of foreign nations, and the country presented to the eyes of Europeans, the deplorable picture of an immense people utterly destitute of laws, and whose engagements of any kind were, on that account, not to be depended upon. The unavoidable consequence of this decay of credit and confidence was a stagnation of trade. Commerce took wing and disappeared; general distress succeeded; good-faith, almost the greatest blessing of society, was extinguished; and discontents, heart-burnings and complaints, filled the country. Each State, where it suited its pecuniary interests, refused to acquiesce with the laws, or even the recommendations of Congress. Frauds upon creditors seemed to be the only law. At length the embarrassments of individuals became almost intolerable, while they increased in extent; the public creditors, whose aid had furnished the resources of the war, found that they had no legal remedy; and, to sum up the shameful accounts of national degradation, the Congress were unable to carry into effect their stipulations in the treaty of peace, in favour of British creditors. The defects of the old articles of confederation were severely felt, and it appeared that a much longer adherence to them would lead to a complete dissolution of the Federal compact. No means existed for establishing a system of national defence; none for internal civil regulations; none for providing a revenue to discharge the public debts; to promote national improvements; to be prepared for the encountering of future exigencies. All men admitted this to be the

truth; but many were unprincipled and unwise enough to say that a dissolution of the union would be preferable to an efficient Federal government.

This state of things gave rise to two great parties in each State, whose principles and purposes were directly opposite to each other, and who pursued the respective objects that distinguished them with the utmost zeal and energy, and in a regular well-arranged system of action and opposition. The one, which may even here be denominated the Federal Party, for the purpose of distinction, devoted their efforts with unabated zeal and industry to support the character of their country, to enforce justice, and to inculcate the good policy, as well as moral duty, of keeping sacred all engagements, whether private or public. They insisted that nothing could justify, or even palliate, the wilful violation of private individual or national faith—that that pledge being once given, it was ordained by all laws, human and divine, to be held sacred and inviolate, and that no plea of expediency or convenience could be allowed in any case against it. They reprobated the idea of pleading humanity and compassion in extenuation or excuse of a criminal act, of relieving needy individuals by the plunder of others, or of cheating the honest confiding creditor out of false lenity to the debtor, whom active vice or idleness, in most cases, had brought into difficulty and distress. They maintained, that it was not by the relaxation of laws, by the disarming of justice, or by the sacrifice of the rights of others, but by honest industry and frugality, the distresses of individuals were to be

alleviated. They indignantly deprecated the idea of protecting by legislative interference or connivance, idle, impudent and worthless men from the evil consequences of their indiscretion; and they insisted, on the contrary, that the most certain way of preventing the distresses of such men was to caution them against involving themselves in debt, by convincing them that the most exact performance of contracts would be enforced by the laws. As a corollary from these propositions, they maintained that every State ought to fulfil its engagements, be the inconvenience or hardships to individuals what they might: and that for that purpose an effective system of taxation ought to be adopted without delay, and put in force with vigour, spirit and dispatch. By this, and by means of an energetic and powerful system of government, they said, the best interests of the nation would be advanced and secured at home, and its character and dignity maintained with the other nations of the earth.

Quite different were the principles and conduct of the other, which may here be denominated the Democratic Party. They were for a more indulgent and humane system of conduct; their tenderness was reserved for the debtor; for the honest creditor they had none at all to spare. Between the wronger and the wronged, their election was made instinctively; and upon him who got possession of the property of another, and would not return it, they lavished all their pity and all their relief. The payment of debts was in their opinions unnecessary to justice, or even to character; the exaction of them cruel and

illiberal; the enforced performance of contracts too harsh to be endured, too severe to be supported; and, in fine, such a tyranny as in their minds the people would not, and, indeed, ought not to bear. Their philosophy and their moral sentiments dictated measures of a very different kind from those of their adversaries. They never failed to argue for the policy and propriety of palsying the arm of the laws and relaxing the administration of justice. They were for affording their poor friend the debtor, every facility, if not for paying his debts, at least, for evading them, and of course, were for throwing every obstruction in the way of the creditor.—They would tie up the hands of the latter, and to demonstrate that their public morality kept pace with their private, they were for the remission of taxes, as a cruel exaction upon individuals, as an infringement upon liberty and free will, and as a downright infraction upon, and insult to, the rights of man. However people might differ in opinion with them upon the sound policy, the honour or the moral honesty of this scheme of theirs, no one could deny that it was very natural. For this party comprised within it almost the whole of that character of persons who could be benefited by the operation of such principles; the greater part of them must be gainers by such a system if reduced to practice, for they had much to gain by an exemption from the payment of debts, and they had nothing to lose by the imputation which might attach to it. As the poor, the idle, the profligate and the unprincipled, constitute a large portion of every community, this last mentioned

party found a complete majority in many States, and in all the States was sufficiently powerful to create confusion and to give effective support to the cause of fraud and insolvency. Wherever it completely possessed the ascendant and its counsels overruled the State, the fruits of it were seen in the loose and perplexed state of property; in the furious wars waged with law and justice; in the profuse emission of paper money; in the delays, evasions and obstructions of legal proceedings, and in the suspending of the collection of taxes. On these points there were continual contests in the States. Wherever the democrats were vanquished on any of these occasions, they neither sunk in despair, remitted their determination, nor diminished their efforts. Though they lost the object for that time, they had not lost it for ever—they had not lost all hope. The next annual election held out to them a revival of their expectations, and if their party only succeeded in that election, against their political adversary, they were sure of succeeding against the private creditor. Their success was various; and the uncertainty arising from this state of things with respect to the most important concerns, and the consequent instability of certain principles which ought to be fixed, produced the most incalculable evils. Neither credit or confidence existed—nor could a character for probity be maintained by a country under such circumstances. Distrust in private transactions prevailed to a degree unknown before. The best bonds sold at a discount of from thirty to fifty per cent.—real property could scarcely find a bidder, and no article could be sold for ready money but at a very inju-

rious, if not ruinous loss. Acting upon the same principles, and following the same course of opinions which led to the foregoing abuses, that party opposed every attempt to part with the power which they possessed, or to transfer it, as was deemed necessary for the public safety, into the hands of Congress. Nor was this the worst. At this early stage of its independent existence—while it was yet feebly crawling from its cradle, the infant Republic began to manifest symptoms of a dangerous turbulent spirit. The causes of discontent which operated more or less in every State, were in those of New-England more felt than in any other. As they had been more prompt, resolute and efficient in their exertions during the revolutionary war, the debts under which they laboured were greater, while their means of payment were less. Having neglected, or been interrupted in that main staple of their commerce, the fishery, and being, now that they could return to that business, shut out from some of their best markets by their separation from Great Britain, their labours were unproductive, and their profits small, while their pecuniary burthens were immense. These distresses, coöperating with an habitual restlessness of spirit, and the prevailing laxity of opinion respecting government, and public and private faith, gave rise to commotions which for some time agitated all the New-England States. Operating upon weak minds and ferocious tempers, the example of the revolution, and of the successful resistance made to the power of Great Britain, generated in the minds of turbulent men the most extravagant and disorderly

opinions respecting their rights. Liberty they supposed to be a total exemption from legal controul, and the prerogative and powers of government, just such as each individual chose to allow to it. They called conventions, and resolvedthemselves and their meetings constitutional, assumed to those meetings the name of "The People," and with matchless cunning and boldness retorted upon their present legal rulers the reasoning which those rulers had but a short time before employed against theirs, that is to say, against the British government; charging them with the very same acts of tyranny with which they had before charged the government of England, quoting against them their own declaration of independence, and pointing out where the government of the States had in practice violated the principles which that declaration contained. "You declared," said they, "that all men are created equal; that they "are endowed by their creator with certain unalien-"able rights, amongst which are life, liberty, and "the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these "rights governments are instituted amongst men, "deriving "their just powers from the consent of "the governed; that whenever any form of govern-"ment becomes destructive of these ends it is the "right of the people to alter and abolish it; and to "institute a new government." "These," said they, "are the principles on which we drew our "swords against our former sovereign. This was "the condition on which we hazarded our all. We "have fulfilled our part. How has Congress and other "men in power fulfilled theirs? Instead of becom-"ing all equal, the inequality is greater than ever."

Thus they went on, not only employing against Congress its own former arguments against Britain, but absolutely adopting the very invective which had been used by them against the King of England. Nothing could exceed the virulence of their language or the violence of their resolutions. They attacked every part of the national establishment. The taxes—the courts of justice and lawyers, and the whole judiciary, and even in large tumultuous mobs arrested the judges in the course of dispensing the law. The civil power of the counties was found wholly insufficient to controul them. They grew bolder from impunity. The lenity shewn them they attributed to the fears of government, and they arranged and organized a regular system of insurrection. Their force amounted to nearly fifteen thousand men, and they elected a man of the name of Shay, as their chief leader.

These proceedings greatly alarmed the people. Washington was unusually affected by them. "I "do assure you," said he, in a letter to general Knox, "that even at this moment when I reflect "upon the present aspect of our affairs, it seems to "me like the visions of a dream. My mind can "scarcely realize it as a thing in actual existence. "So strange, so wonderful does it appear to me. In "this, as in most other matters we are too slow. When "this spirit first dawned it might have been easily "checked, but it is scarcely within the reach of hu- "man ken at this moment to say when, where, or "how it will terminate. There are combustibles in "every State to which a spark might set fire."

" In bewailing, which I have often done with the " keenest sorrow, the death of our much lamented " friend, General Greene, I have accompanied my re- " grets of late with a query, whether he would not " have preferred such an exit to the scenes which it is " now more than probable many of his compatriots " will have to undergo."

The insurrection wore so formidable an aspect, that Congress thought fit to enlarge the military establishment—a civil war was expected—a majority of the people of Massachusetts were either secretly or openly in opposition to government, and m any of the leaders avowed their objects to be a subversion of the government, an abolition of all debts, a division of property and a reunion with Great Britain. In all the Eastern States the same temper prevailed more or less, and only waited for an advantageous occasion to break out openly; and it was supposed that through Vermont a negotiation was going on with Canada.

The necessity of military force to quell the insurrection was now obvious. In answer to a letter written to Washington to exert his influence to quell it, he said, " You talk, my good Sir, of employing " influence. I know not where that influence is to " be found; nor if attainable, that it would be a " proper remedy for these disorders. INFLUENCE IS " NOT GOVERNMENT. Let us have a government " by which our lives, liberties, and properties will " be secured; or let us know the worst at once. " Under these impressions, my humble opinion is, " that there is a call for decision. Know precisely

" what the insurgents aim at. If they have real " grievances, redress them if possible; or acknow- " ledge the justice of them, and your inability to " do it in the present moment. If they have not, " employ the force of government against them at " once. If this is inadequate, ALL will agree that " the superstructure is bad, or wants support. To be " more exposed in the eyes of the world, and more " contemptible than we already are, is hardly possi- " ble. To delay one or the other of these expedients, " is to exasperate on the one hand, or to give con- " fidence on the other, and will add to their num- " bers; for like snow-balls, such bodies increase " by every movement, unless there is something in " the way to obstruct and crumble them before their " weight is too great and irresistible."

Pardon was offered to the insurgents. They rejected it, and enlarged their demands. Every attempt at conciliation produced an increase of audacity on their part, and they proceeded so far as to array a military force for the purpose of overthrowing the government. At length a number of gentlemen in Boston raised, by subscription, a sum of money sufficient to enable a body of military to keep the field, and the veteran Lincoln, and General Shepherd marched against the insurgent army. It was winter, and the weather was extremely severe when the General came up with the malcontents. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, he did every thing that skill and spirit could accomplish to bring the enemy to battle, or compel them to disperse, but they evaded him with great celerity. At length, however,

the insurrection was completely quelled, the offenders were dispersed, and the leaders obliged to fly out of the State.

It was on this occasion the brave old veterans of the Revolution who abhorred the loose spirit of the times, rallied round the government and laws, and shewed that the patriotism which animated them of old still glowed with fervour in their bosoms. This, for a time, lessened the democratic dislike against them, which in the Eastern States had been with unreasonable violence displayed in the case of the Cincinnati Society. The rebellion, however, had the effect of convincing the people of the necessity of a more efficient government.

While the enlightened statesmen and pure patriots of America contemplated this unhappy state of things with mortification and disgust, and were not without their foreboding fears that the promised glory and happiness of the country would terminate in misery and disgrace, a Convention of Delegates from the States was called to remedy the inconveniences of the government. At the time appointed, May, 1787, representatives from twelve of the States met at Philadelphia, (Rhode Island alone resisting the call,) and on the 17th of September of the same year, they produced that Constitution under which America has for more than twenty years been governed. After much opposition in every State, particularly from the party to which allusion has been made as being favourable to the non-payment of debts, eleven out of the twelve States ratified the Constitution. North-Carolina and Rhode-Island still stood out firmly opposed to

its adoption. General Washington was unanimously elected President. The great objection made by certain men to this Constitution was that it took too much power from the government of the different States, and deposited it in the general government. It was the obvious interest of that set of men in every State to resist any change by which they would run the risk of having their power, their emoluments, and their official consequence in the State offices diminished, or ravished from them. These, however, were satisfied and made contented by the provisions which continued them in possession of their rank and profits. But there was another set of men who more violently than any other resisted its adoption, stimulated by an unprincipled ambition which induced them to form sanguine hopes of aggrandizing themselves by the convulsions and miseries of their country, and flattering their ambition with fairer prospects of emolument and distinction from the subdivision of the country into petty States, than from its union under one government. These have never since the adoption of the Constitution ceased to use their best efforts to overthrow it, and to wage continual war against Federalism, its advocates and supporters, among whom were reckoned the best men in the country with the immortal Washington at their head, and against every honest principle and wise act of policy which these great and good persons recommended and supported by their influence. These enemies of the Constitution took the name of Anti-Federalists. Their subsequent con-

duct showed that another name would have been more truly appropriate.

Never was any man placed in the chief magistracy of a free country under such proud and honourable circumstances as those which attended the elevation of George Washington to the presidency of the United States under the Federal Constitution. The unexampled services which he had rendered his country, the moderation, humanity, and general benevolence of his heart, his conciliatory manners, his unaffected dignity unmixed with austerity or haughtiness, his sound judgment, his firm temper, his resolution and fortitude, which nothing could subdue, his cool intrepidity in danger, the decision of his character, and his great military achievements, all of which had been displayed in the course of the arduous struggle with Great Britain, had endeared him to the hearts and gained him the admiration and respect of his country to a degree unparalleled in the history of the world. A leading American, whose services as a member of Congress during a great part of the war had marked him as one of the most conspicuous of that wise and virtuous band of patriots, in a letter to Washington made use of these just expressions: "I "have ever thought, and have ever said, that you "must be the President. No other man can fill that "office; no other man can draw forth the abilities of "our country into the various departments of civil "life. You alone can awe the insolence of oppo- "sing factions, and the greater insolence of assu- "ming adherents. I say nothing of foreign powers,

"nor of their ministers. With these last you will "have some plague.* As to your feelings on this "occasion, they are, I know, both deep and affect- "ing. You embark property most precious on a "most tempestuous ocean; for as you possess the "highest reputation, so you expose it to the perilous "chance of popular opinion. On the other hand, you "will, I firmly expect, enjoy the inexpressible feli- "city of contributing to the happiness of all your coun- "trymen. You will become the father of three mil- "lions of children; and while your bosom glows with "paternal tenderness, in their's, or at least in a ma- "jority of them, you will excite the duteous senti- "ments of filial affection."

Another gentleman, Colonel Lee of New York, after expressing in a letter to Washington his apprehension that the proposed government would sink under the attacks made upon it, particularly by the rotten part of the State of New York, goes on and says: "Without you the government can have "but little chance of success; and the people of that "happiness which its prosperity must yield." All the leading personages of the Union who were in habits of friendly intercourse with General Washington, poured in letters upon him, arguing with him, persuading, and even urging him in the name of his country, whose safety was again put in peril by the evil practices of a self-interested faction, to come once again forth from his retirement and take the lead in the new government. Those of General,

* Truly prophetic, as will be seen hereafter.

then Colonel Hamilton, were particularly irresistible and conclusive. "I take it for granted," says that enlightened and virtuous statesman, "that you have "concluded to comply with what will, no doubt, be "the general call of your country in relation to the "new government. You will permit me to say that "it is indispensable you should lend yourself to "its first operations. It is of little purpose to have "introduced a system if the weightiest influence is "not given to its firm establishment in the outset."

From the course of this correspondence, which now stands upon record, it appears that the great and sole desire of Washington was to live and die in peace and retirement upon his own farm. And not only that correspondence proves, but all who shared in the secrets of that great man's bosom, can testify the violent struggles he underwent between inclination and duty, and the magnitude and difficulty of the victory, which, at last, a sense of the duty he owed to his country, obtained over his decided predilection for retirement into private life. General Hamilton, whose free arguments and friendly persuasions seem to have had more influence over his mind than those of any other person, concluded his part of the correspondence by saying, "I feel a con-"viction that you will finally see your acceptance to "be indispensable. It is no compliment to say that "no other man can sufficiently unite the public opi-"nion, or can give the requisite weight to the office "in the commencement of the government. These "considerations appear to me of themselves deci-"sive. I am not sure that your refusal would not

"throw every thing into confusion. I am sure that "it would have the worst effect imaginable."

As there never had been upon any question of a people's choice, unanimity more perfect or exceptionless, the venerable man found it impossible to disobey the public call. He accordingly proceeded to Philadelphia; where, as well as on his journey, the feelings and opinions of the people were manifested by the most enthusiastic expressions of joy. On the road he was met by bodies of the principal inhabitants who escorted him on his way, and was welcomed with addresses not only expressive of their personal affection and respect, but demonstrative of the most firm and unbounded confidence in his wisdom and integrity. "Again your country demands your "care," said the city of Alexandria. "Obedient "to its wishes, unmindful of your ease, we see you "again relinquishing the bliss of retirement, and "this too at a period of life when nature itself seems "to authorise a preference of repose! Not to extol "your glory as a soldier, not to pour forth our gra- "titude for past services, not to acknowledge the "justice of the unexampled honour which has been "conferred upon you by the spontaneous and unani- "mous suffrages of three millions of freemen in your "election to the supreme magistracy, nor to admire "the patriotism which directs your conduct do your "neighbours and friends now address you. Themes "less splendid but more endearing impress our "minds. The first and best of citizens must leave us. "Our aged must lose their ornament; our youth their "model; our agriculture its improver; our com-

" mercc its friend; our infant academy its protector;
" our poor their benefactor, and our interior navi-
" gation its institutor and promoter. Farewell ! Go !
" and make a grateful people happy, a people who
" will be doubly grateful when they contemplate
" this recent sacrifice for their interest. To that
" Being who maketh and unmaketh at his will, we
" commend you; and after the accomplishment
" of the arduous business to which you are called,
" may He restore to us again the best of men, and
" the most beloved of fellow-citizens."

In a word, the public found it so impossible to suppress their feelings, that wherever he stopped he was surrounded with crowds of grateful people pouring forth their applause and blessings, and the gratulations of the nation seemed to have no bounds. Even Party itself was silent; and though the Anti-Federalists were deeply mortified and enraged at this fortunate opening of the dawn of Federalism, they felt it their interest to be silent, and even affected to join the general tributes paid to the great Chief, the glory of their country. If they muttered curses it was in so low and feeble a voice that they were not distinctly heard. The national opinion of this very extraordinary man was so much more fully and elegantly summed up in Vice-President Adams's speech to the Senate, than in any other composition of the many which bore testimony to the general sense of this deserving object of a nation's idolatry, that it ought to find a place in every history of the times.

" It is with satisfaction," said he, " that I con-
" gratulate the people of America on the formation

" of a national constitution, and the fair prospect " of a consistent administration of *a government of* " *laws;* on the acquisition of a House of Repre- " sentatives chosen by themselves; of a Senate thus " composed by their own Legislatures, and on the " prospect of an executive authority, in the hands " of one whose portrait I shall not presume to draw. " Were I blessed with powers to do justice to his " character, it would be impossible to increase the " confidence or affection of his country, or to make " the smallest addition to his glory. This can only " be effected by a discharge of the present exalted " trust on the same principles, with the same abili- " ties and virtues which have uniformly appeared in " all his former conduct public or private. May I, " nevertheless, be indulged to inquire, if we look " over the catalogue of the first magistrates of na- " tions, whether they have been denominated Pre- " sidents or Consuls, Kings or Princes, where shall " we find one whose commanding talents and vir- " tues, whose overruling good fortune, have so com- " pletely united all hearts and voices in his favour? " Who enjoyed the esteem and admiration of foreign " nations and fellow-citizens with equal unanimity? " Qualities so uncommon are no common blessing to " the country that possesses them. By these great " qualities and their benign effects, has Providence " marked out the head of this nation with a hand so " distinctly visible as to have been seen by all men, " and mistaken by none."

The character of Washington is thus strongly insisted upon, and the general sense of the Ameri-

cal people is this particularly, though briefly laid down, not because the former is not sufficiently well understood in all parts of the world, nor because the latter was not at the time universally admitted, but because great and meritorious and august as that high personage was in every relation of life, public or private, inaccessible as one would think him to be to slander, and covered over with the admiration, the love and the blessings of all the best men of the world, and of all the real patriots of the country he twice saved, he has been most foully calumniated by a profligate party, or to adopt his own expressions in a letter written by him in the year 1796, to the leader, idol, and prime mover of that party, (Mr. Jefferson,) "Accused of being the enemy of America, and sub-"ject to the influence of a foreign country, and to "prove which every act of my administration is tor-"tured, and the grossest and most insidious misre-"presentations of them made by giving one side "only of a subject, and that too in SUCH EXAGGE-"RATED AND INDECENT TERMS AS COULD "SCARCELY BE APPLIED TO A NERO, TO A NO-"TORIOUS DEFAULTER, OR EVEN TO A COM-"MON PICKPOCKET."

To the hatred and hostility of two parties so directly opposite, in every point of consideration, there was no likelihood to be a speedy conclusion. While its wisdom, sound principles, probity, and salutary policy, joined with the good sense of the nation to support it, promised to keep the one from entirely sinking, the licentiousness of the multitude, the instability of public affairs, and the extravagant, wild and unsettled notions entertained by the people respecting govern-

ment, promised to keep the other alive, and, as the wisest men feared and prognosticated, to give it an increase of strength and influence. From an abuse of their liberty and a total inattention to its principles, an intemperate indulgence of that blessing destroyed the fabric of public opinion, extinguished in the majority all sense of correct and sound policy, and disqualified them for the enjoyment of freedom, by destroying the very source of its support. Between the parties no reconciliation could be expected, because their principles and purposes were in their very nature irreconcilable. It might rather be called a contest between the integrity of the country and its adversaries, than a political struggle. The worst passions, inflamed by cupidity and directed by cunning, being enlisted on one side; the talent, the wisdom, the knowledge and the virtue of the community on the other. The anger of defeat and disappointment increased to the highest degree the malignity of the opposition. Every thing was done to despoil the new government of its most essential powers, and to obstruct and palsy its operations. The friends of the Constitution were not a little apprehensive that before its value could be ascertained, irreparable injury would ensue; and this would have been the case, had it not been for the personal influence and high authority of Washington, whose zealous attachment to the Constitution and judgment in its favour buoyed it up, in spite of all the efforts of the oppostion to sink it.

While these things were going on in the manner related, others engaged the attention of the statesmen of the Union, and agitated the passions of the

people. The Anti-Federal party in the States were, on their own principle, opposed to the payment of debts, and strenuous advocates for sheltering the debtor, whether private or public—whether it were the nation at large, or an individual, from the coercion of the creditor. The very people who were lately the most loud in the general outcry of "Liberty and property," turned out now to be the advocates of legalized spoliation. The largest part by far of the debts of the country were due to British creditors, and those debts were considered as having no small weight of influence on the original determinations of a certain portion of the people to shake off the imperial domination of Great Britain. It was asserted by the opposers of the separation and independence of America, and is still believed by many temperate men who were friendly to it, that some of the leading instigators and fomenters of the rupture between the mother country and the colonies, and particularly the leading subject of this history, were debtors in a large amount to British subjects, and that a release from their obligations was the principal inducement for fomenting the quarrel and endeavouring to sever the one entirely from the other. Be that as it may, it is now matter of history, that the British Minister made stipulations at the peace for the recovery of all such debts, and that the greatest brawlers for liberty and property were the most active and strenuous in despoiling the fair creditor of his property, and obstructing the payment of British creditors in particular. As ac-

tive enmity to Britain is one of the principles by which the faction has all along distinguished itself, it will be expedient here to state the case fairly as it stands between the two countries. The whole deserves to be particularly set down, as the democratic party, among the innumerable deceptions with which they have blinded and cajoled the public, and the gross misrepresentations which they have given of their adversaries, have charged the federal party with being unduly partial to Great Britain, and desirous to promote the interests of that country to the detriment of America; and in order to make that charge more operative in its effects upon the public feelings, have represented England as acting towards the Americans with purposed enmity, and entertaining sentiments and devising projects hostile to the independence and interest of the United States.

The resentments which at the peace were left behind in the bosoms of the American people by the cruel animosities inseparable from civil commotions, and by the calamities consequent to the military operations of the revolutionary war, were continued long after the causes of them had ceased. The motive of the court of France for aiding America against Britain, was not by any means a desire to see her free, but a politic view of weakening England by separating from her that portion of her empire which constituted her greatest strength. Throughout the whole of the Revolution, therefore, and in continuity after it, every intrigue was practised, every artifice resorted to, that could tend to widen the breach for ever, and to perpetuate, in the new country, the hatreds and heart-burnings engendered by

the war against the old. Some few leading Americans were the devoted servants, friends, and agents of France; and those, reinforced by the democratic demagogues and the whole of the multitude that followed them, inculcated with the utmost industry and energy that Great Britain was in fact the ETERNAL NATURAL ENEMY of America, just as much as she was of France, and insisted that it was impossible for England, whatever she might have been obliged to pretend, to relinquish altogether her designs to regain her former possessions. Though the military operations of the two countries, therefore, were at an end, the hatred of the people of America was still kept alive by every trick and deception which ingenuity, absolved from the restraints of moral honesty, and ungoverned by truth, could devise. So long as they were kept in painful suspense by the evils of the war and the great uncertainty of its termination, the language of America respecting England was in some degree moderate and correct, at least as much so, as that of the partisans of the British government respecting America; and the just and temperate conduct that should be observed to her in the event of peace, was held out in our state papers as one inducement to her government to come to terms, and as a manifestation to the nations of Europe of the justice and reasonableness of our cause. In that great national pledge given by the first Congress to the world, the Declaration of Independence, the authors of that instrument solemnly declared their determination *to hold the British nation as the rest of mankind, enemies in*

war, IN PEACE FRIENDS. To this, not only because, whether it had been promised or not, it was politic and wise, but because, whether it were politic and wise or not, it was just, and had been promised the able and virtuous Washington, and the federal party who adhered to his precepts, and clung to him as to their and their country's common father, used all their persuasions, their power and their influence, to bind the country in its conduct towards the nations of Europe. If the fact were not in public proof, and now matter, not of conjecture, but of history, it would not be believed that a pledge so publicly given could be withdrawn, or that a promise thus deliberately and solemnly made could be violated. To that very man the proudest boast of whom and of his friends it is, that he was the author of that very Declaration—to that man—to Mr. Thomas Jefferson and his party, it has exclusively belonged to urge by all the means in his or their power, the violation of that promise, the outrageous cancelation of that pledge. Whether the morals of that gentleman were by original nature, or early institution, of that crooked kind, or whether he sucked in his improvement from the exuberant bosom of that mother of all mischief, the Jacobin Club of Paris, those who knew him in his early days can best tell; but so it certainly is, that, according to the leading maxim of the party of which he is at once the head and the heart, viz. "THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS," (that maxim which the French revolutionists inscribed upon the banners under which Napoleon has since scourged mankind and plundered the earth,)

that party and their leaders have left no means untried to make the people of America wage eternal war with Britain, and to violate every compact made with that nation. It will stand for ever an historical picture of the most black and disgraceful kind, Mr. Thomas Jefferson giving his hand to draw the Declaration of Independence, and thereby plighting in the face of God and the world, the faith of his country and himself, to the observance of equal justice to Britain as to all other nations, and then, like another Hannibal, laying that very hand upon the altar, and swearing by all his gods, eternal enmity to that country.

The treaty of peace with Great Britain contained within it the seeds of that discordance between the two countries which the French party in America have so sedulously, and with such extraordinary success, ever since cultivated and improved. At this day one would be at a loss to account for the folly and littleness displayed by the British Minister in that part of the treaty, if the character of statesmen of low and vulgar ambition were not too well known to make any thing they do a subject of astonishment, provided it answers the purposes of their own private interest. The British merchants, to whom immense sums of money were owing by a multitude of individuals in America, finding that their debtors sheltered themselves from suit under the laws of the States, and convinced that while those laws continued in force they had no chance of recovering their property, remonstrated with the British government, claiming a stipulation in their favour, or

relief of some kind or other, and Lord Shelburn, the Prime Minister of the day, promised them that the payment of their debts should be positively provided for. Had his Lordship possessed one half of the sagacity, the foresight, or the liberal wisdom to the credit of which he aspired, he would have seen that it would have been much more politic, as well as honourable to his country and its councils, to have abstained from encumbering a treaty from which, more than from any other instrument, every thing that bore upon private individuals ought to have been excluded, with a provision for the payment of a paltry sum, the disbursement of which the British treasury would not have felt, and the exaction of which it was easy to foresee would have the effect of exasperating the people of America, of involving the parties on both sides in strife and perplexity, and of retarding the accomplishment of that most desirable object, a perfect reconciliation and harmony between the new Commonwealth and the mother country. The whole amount was but two millions, and Great Britain has since had abundant cause to lament that the narrowness of the Minister's mind prevented him from paying it off from the treasury of his own country. A hundred millions would not reimburse Great Britain for the injury that improvident article has since done her.

But to leave speculating on the conduct of the British government, and return to the facts. It was agreed by the fourth article of the treaty, that no creditor on either side should meet with impediment of law to the recovery of the full value in sterling

money of all *bona fide* debts contracted antecedently to the treaty. By the fifth article it was agreed that Congress should earnestly recommend it to the Legislatures of the respective States to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights and properties belonging to real British subjects which had been confiscated, and also of the estates, rights and properties of persons resident in districts in the possession of his Majesty's arms, and who had not borne arms against the United States, and that persons of any other description should have free liberty to go to any other part or parts of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain for twelve months, unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights and properties as might have been confiscated; that Congress should earnestly recommend to the several States a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation which, on the return of the blessings of peace, ought universally to prevail; and should earnestly recommend to the several States, that the estates, rights, and properties of such last mentioned persons should be restored to them, they refunding to any person who might be then in possession, the *bona fide* price, where any had been given, which such persons might have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights, or properties since the confiscation. And it was further agreed in the said fifth article, that all persons who had any interest in confiscated lands,

either by debts, marriage settlements, or otherwise, should meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights. By the sixth article it was agrred that no future confiscation should be made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons, for or by reason of the part which he or they might have taken in the then existing war; and that no person should on that account suffer any further loss or damage either in his person, liberty, or property, and that those who might be in confinement on such charges at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, should be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecution so commenced be discontinued.

It is somewhat extraordinary that a statesman presiding over the councils of a great nation like Britain, could overlook the nature of these provisions, and be so inadvertent to the powers of the body that made them, as not to anticipate the evil consequences which have resulted from them: nor can it be readily accounted for, how he could think the engagement of Congress to recommend those important stipulations to the fulfilment of the States, a sufficient warranty for the performance of them, or imagine that the Congress, who had not the power to compel, nor the influence to persuade, the separate States to pay even their quota of contribution to the supplies necessary for maintaining the war, could have power or influence sufficient to make those States remove the impediments to the recovery of debts, which they had deliberately thrown in the way of the British creditors. It was a fatal error in

the British Minister, and it will hereafter be seen what injury these articles did to the interests of both countries.

So far from complying with the earnest recommendation of Congress, and stamping credit upon their new Commonwealth by an observance of justice throughout all the States, each State followed that course which either its own interests, the private purposes of individuals, or the passions of the ruling party in it dictated. The State of New-York distinguished itself for its refractory conduct. Its Legislature acted with all the undisciplined vindictiveness and hostility to the British, though now covered with a treaty of peace, which it could possibly have entertained during the highest fury of the war, avowed a desire to set aside every stipulation in favour of Great Britain; were with much difficulty prevented from doing so; and calmly listened to propositions which were made to banish one description and disfranchise another of those persons whose safety was guaranteed by Congress in the treaty of peace, and whose security, freedom, and tranquillity Great Britain had purchased by immense sacrifices. While they refused to perform the stipulations thus purchased for valuable consideration, they *very honestly* contended for retaining the price that was paid for them. In a word, America called in a loud and peremptory tone on Great Britain to fulfil her part of the treaty and to give up the posts upon the Lakes, which she still held as a counterpledge for the performance of the provisions on the part of America, while the French faction

publicly accused the British government of sinister designs in keeping them, though they knew that they were retained only because the American States refused to comply with the stipulations of Congress. Thus, it unfortunately happened, that the war was scarcely ended when the two parties to the treaty of peace accused each other of violating it. The best men in America avowed their disapprobation of the conduct of those States which refused to perform their part of the treaty; and indeed it is mortifying to humanity to reflect that the greatest resistance to fulfil the stipulation for the payment of British debts was in those States where the debts were mostly due. In New-York particularly, where the consciousness of greater wrong made them more intractable and ferocious, they did not confine their hostility to opposing the payment of their debts, but wanted to proscribe the English, to banish them and to disfranchise them.

It was upon this occasion that that exemplary citizen, that wise and honest statesman, and that able Captain, Hamilton, a name ever dear, ever to be revered by Americans and honoured by mankind, stepped forth the champion of his country's justice and integrity, as he had before been of her independence, threw his mighty shield over those victims of fraud and French intrigue, and in a publication which will stand high among the catalogue of honourable acts that will immortalize his name, invoked the justice, the common honesty, and the feeling of his country. "Let the people be-"ware of bad counsellors!" said he.—"However a

" few designing men may rise in consequence and
" advance their private interests by such expedients,
" the people at large are sure to be the losers in
" the event, whenever they suffer a departure from
" the rules of general and equal justice, or from the
" true principles of universal liberty. These men
" not only overleap the barriers of the Constitu-
" tion without remorse, but *they advise us to become*
" *the scorn of nations*, by violating the solemn en-
" gagements of the United States. They en-
" deavour to mould the treaty with Great-Britain
" into such form as pleases them, and to make it
" mean any thing, or nothing, as it suits their views.
" They tell us that all the stipulations with respect
" to the Tories are merely that Congress will re-
" commend, and the States may comply or not, as
" they please." After arguing the subject with his usual gigantic force, Mr. Hamilton proceeded, and said—

" Such fraudulent subterfuges are justly consi-
" dered more odious than an open and avowed vio-
" lation of treaty.

" The *uti possidetis*, or preliminary that each party
" hold what it possesses, is the point from which na-
" tions set out in framing a treaty of peace. If one
" side gives up a part of its acquisitions, the other
" side renders an equivalent in some other way.
" What is the equivalent given to Great Britain for
" all the important concessions she has made? She
" has given up the capital of this State and its large
" dependencies. She is to surrender our im-
" mensely valuable posts on the frontier, and to

"yield us a vast tract of western territory, with "one half of the Lakes, by which we shall com- "mand almost the whole fur trade. She renounces "to us her claim to the navigation of the Missis- "sippi, and admits us to a share in the fisheries, "even on better terms than we formerly enjoyed "it. As she was in possession, by right, of all these "objects, whatever may have been our original preten- "sions to them, they are by the laws of nations, to be "considered as so much given up on her part; and "what do we give in return? We stipulate that "there shall be no future injury done to her ad- "herents amongst us. *How insignificant the equiva- "lent in comparison with the acquisition!* A man "of sense would be ashamed to compare them: A "man of honesty not intoxicated with passion, "would blush to lisp a question of the obligation to "observe the stipulation on our part.

"Suppose Great Britain should be induced to "refuse a further compliance with the treaty in "consequence of a breach of it on our part, what "situation should we be in? Can we renew the "war to compel a compliance? We know, and "all the world knows, it is out of our power. "Will those who have heretofore assisted us take "our part? Their affairs require peace as well "as ours, and they will not think themselves bound "to undertake an unjust war to regain to us rights "which we have forfeited by a childish levity, and "a wanton contempt of public faith."

Thus spoke the exalted statesman. By the exer- tions of the god-like Hamilton and those of other gen-

tlemen of his description, the Legislature of New-York was a little controuled in its purposes, and much mischief was prevented; but the treaty is still allowed to have been most scandalously violated and evaded in that and other States by the most disgraceful subterfuges. The loyalists were prosecuted and persecuted, and the most unreasonable taxes and impositions were heaped upon them. The impediments to the recovery of debts remained untouched, and the American government was openly accused by the British creditors of violating the most sacred obligations which man could form, whether public or private; and the public character was the more injuriously affected by it, because every one recollected that it was but a very short time before, when the very men who now violated the treaty would have given their lives and property for independence; though now, that they had obtained it securely, they revolted at the payment of their honest debts; and because all who understood the matter knew that the terms of the treaty were highly advantageous to America.

The most ardent admirers of the American Revolution, and the most zealous friends of the United States, saw, and with regret animadverted upon the spirit of misrule and injustice which prevailed all over the country. The Marquis de la Fayette, in a letter to General Washington, said, "By their "conduct in the Revolution, the citizens of Ame-"rica have commanded the respect of the world; "but it grieves me to think that they will in a great "measure lose it, unless they strengthen the Con-

"federation, give Congress power to regulate their "trade, and pay off their debt, or at least the inte- "rest of it." In his answer to which Washington said—"It is one of the evils of democratic govern- "ments that the people not always seeing, and being "frequently misled, must often feel before they act "right."

Posterity will be enabled to form a judgment of this business, and those who read it at the present day, however blinded by prejudice, must see the true merits of the case when they view the facts with an impartial eye, and consider the feelings exhibited by the parties, and the characters of the persons concerned in it.

Nothing could exceed the uneasiness which the misconduct of the States on this occasion gave to all the good men of the country, and to none more than to Washington. The treaty remaining unfulfilled on both sides by the means already stated, Mr. Adams had been dispatched to England, among other objects, to obtain the performance of it on the part of Great Britain, and he presented a memorial to that cabinet, setting forth the complaints of America and calling for a full performance of the seventh article particularly, by which Britain was bound to withdraw her garrisons from the Western posts. To this memorial the British Minister for Foreign Affairs,* returned a special answer, in which he explicitly acknowledged the obligation

* The Marquis of Caermarthen, now Duke of Leeds.

created by the seventh article to withdraw the British garrisons from every fort within the United States, but at the same time peremptorily insisted that the obligation created by the fourth article to remove every lawful impediment to the recovery of *bona fide* debts was equally clear and explicit. His Lordship observed (and who can deny the truth of the observation?) that engagements entered into by a treaty ought to be mutual, and equally binding on the respective contracting parties. It would therefore be the height of folly as well as injustice, to suppose one party obliged to a strict observance of the public faith, while the other might remain free to deviate from its own engagements as often as convenience might render such deviation necessary, *though at the expense of its own credit and importance:* And he concluded with the most solemn assurance that whenever America should manifest a real determination to fulfil her part of the treaty, Great-Britain would not hesitate to prove her sincerity to coöperate in whatever points depended upon her for carrying every article of it into real and complete effect. Along with this answer was given a statement of the infractions of the fourth article committed by the Americans. Both were laid before Congress, who referred them to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs to examine into and report the facts. In his report the Secretary did not attempt to exculpate the defaulters, and afterwards, in a letter to General Washington said, "Some of the "facts are inaccurately stated, and improperly co-"loured; but it is too true that the treaty has

" been violated. On such occasions, I think it bet-
" ter fairly to confess and correct errors than at-
" tempt to deceive ourselves and others by falla-
" cious though plausible palliations and excuses.
" To oppose popular prejudices, to censure the pro-
" ceedings and expose the impropriety of States is
" an unpleasant task, but it must be done."

If the government of that day were to act upon the principle on which the French partisans and democratic factions in the several States were desirous to proceed, that is to say, if Congress should be a mere creature in their hands, by whom and in whose name, other nations were to be drawn into treaties which were obligatory in theory and practice upon the nations so taken in, but however obligatory in theory, not at all obligatory in practice upon themselves, the government would be but a systematic organ of deception, and the functions of that respectable body, the Congress, be reduced to the character and quality of a trap. This, however, was an idea from which the genuine patriots of the land, the Federalists, revolted. They therefore put forth all their power and influence, and used every honourable exertion to prevail on the several States to repeal the laws which militated against and forbid the execution of the treaty. Nothing can be conceived more cogent, more unanswerable than the arguments they used in their resolutions and circular letters to the several Governors, demonstrating the constitutional obligation of treaties made by Congress, and the real policy as well as moral duty of faithfully executing that which was made with Great Britain. But their

representations had not the intended effect. Washington himself felt that it was but an inauspicious outset for a nation to plant its very first footstep in wrong and breach of faith. "It was impolitic and "unfortunate, if not unjust," said he, "in those "States to pass laws which by fair construction "might be considered as infractions of the treaty "of peace. It is good policy at all times to place "one's adversary in the wrong. Had we observed "good faith and the western posts had been with-"held from us by Great Britain, we might have "appealed to God and man for justice."

Again, in another letter. "From the acknow-"ledged abilities of the Secretary for Foreign Af-"fairs, I have no doubt of his having ably inves-"tigated the infractions of the treaty on both sides. "Much it is to be regretted, however, that there "should have been any on ours. We seem to have "forgot, or never to have learned, the policy of "placing one's enemy in the wrong. Had we ob-"served good faith on our part we might have told "our tale to the world with a good grace, but com-"plaints ill become those who are found to be the "first aggressors."

And in another letter written to the aforesaid Secretary for Foreign Affairs, he (Washington) says, "What a misfortune it is that the British should "have so well grounded a pretext for their palpa-"ble infractions, and what a disgraceful part out "of the choice of difficulties before us, are we to "act!"

Of all this, the oppositionists were as regardless as they were of the claims of integrity or the character of the country. Still, nothing was heard from them but bitter invective against the injustice of Great Britain and insinuations of toryism and disaffection to the country against all those good and wise men who endeavoured to found the new Republic on the firm and immovable basis of justice and good faith. And thus, to answer the private purposes of the dishonest men of the States, and to promote the interests of France, Great-Britain was impeached of the most criminal departure from her engagements, because she would not perform her part, while we violated ours; and the Federalists were accused of being the partisans of England, because they reprobated the frauds committed upon her.

In the heat of all these and the preceding commotions, a number of political insects were generated who have since laid their eggs, and hatched them in the bosom of the Union. This was foreseen by the men to whom allusion has so often and will again during the progress of this history, have occasion to be made—Washington and his friends. Early in 1796, one of them then of the highest rank in the country says in a letter addressed to his great friend: "Our affairs seem to lead to "some crisis, some revolution; something that I "cannot foresee or conjecture. I am more uneasy than "during the war. THEN we had a fixed object; and "though the means and time of obtaining it were "problematical, yet I did firmly believe that we "should ultimately succeed, because I did firmly "believe that justice was with us. The case is

"now altered; we are going, and doing wrong "and therefore I look forward to evils and cala- "mities."

"There doubtless is much reason to think and to "say that we are woefully, and in some instances, "wickedly misled. Private rage for property sup- "presses public considerations, and personal rather "than national interests have become the great ob- "jects of attention." In answer to which Washing- ton, among other things, said, "Your sentiments that "we are drawing rapidly to a crisis accords with "mine. What the event will be is beyond the reach "of my foresight. We have errors to correct. "We had, probably, too good an opinion of human "nature in forming our Confederation. Experience "has taught us that men will not adopt and carry "into execution measures the best calculated for "their own good, without the intervention of coer- "cive power."

In this misunderstanding between the two coun- tries, and the practices of the French faction to in- flame it, and in the uses to which it was converted, we see the origin of that spirit of hostility to En- gland which has ever since in a greater or less de- gree actuated a certain part of the people of this country. But there were others which coöperated with it, and worked upon the American people in an equal, if not superior degree. The Americans, so long as they were colonial subjects of Great Britain, carried on a very lucrative trade with the British West-India islands, by which means there

was a continual stream of specie and bullion pouring into the country. In this trade they participated in common with the English; not on any independent rights of their own as Americans, but as British subjects and members of the British empire entitled to the rights and privileges of Englishmen. As soon as they were dissevered from the British empire by the formal acknowledgment of their independence and ceased to be the subjects of that government, they immediately fell into the same condition, with respect to rights of trading to the British colonies, as any other foreign nation—as France, Spain, or Holland—having no other right or pretensions to right in the trade to those colonies than Great Britain might think proper to allow them. Immediately on the conclusion of peace, therefore, the ports of the West-India islands were shut against them; and the British navigation act being strictly put in force, the vessels of America were excluded from many other parts of the world. Accustomed to drive a trade to almost every port on the globe, they were now confined to a few, and scarcely a channel of any consequence was left open to their commerce. In the Mediterranean their flag was scarcely seen to move, their trade being checked by the Barbary powers, whose corsairs unmolested, and indeed unresisted, made prey of them while they were utterly destitute of force to subdue or oppose them. By these and other means their bold commercial enterprise and hardy spirit of adventure which had been the wonder of nations, and had furnished the political writers of the latter end of

the last century with such an affluent subject of panegyric, dwindled away to nothing.

In this dilemma it was proposed to enter into a negotiation with Great Britain, for the purpose of regulating the commerce between the two countries, and to that end overtures were, in the year 1785, made to England. The British cabinet, however, having still before their eyes the violated articles of the treaty of peace, aware that there was no established government in the United States that there was no efficient power armed at once with authority to treat and with force to compel the performance of any treaty, and conceiving it probable that new treaties under such circumstances would only lead to new violations, and those to fresh contentions, and additional ill-will between the two countries, declined to enter into any negotiation, observing, that however advantageous a compact such as had been hinted might be, it could be of no avail, so long as the government of the United States remained unable, as it then certainly was, to enforce the observance of it. This refusal to negotiate until the former treaty was fulfilled was instantly made a handle of by the faction. The partisans of France trumpeted it abroad, the democrats and demagogues joined in the outcry, and in the wicked spirit of falsehood which has ever since influenced them in all their actions, they insisted that the non-performance of the stipulations of the treaty on the part of America was only a false pretext of the British government, and that the real motive for keeping possession of

the western posts was, a malicious design to incite the Indians to hostility against the United States, and to let in those sanguinary barbarians to murder the American people. But they knew as well as the Federalists that the British Cabinet could not reasonably be expected to treat with a people in whom they had reason not to confide, and that the Ministers of his Britannic Majesty could not expect thirteen independent sovereignties with various, and, in many instances, opposite interests, each divided within itself into two angry conflicting parties, (one of those parties too deeply interested and already pledged upon its opposition to Great Britain,) to concur in any treaty, while there was no sovereign power paramount to the State Legislatures to controul them. Indeed it was easy to see that, so long as this continued to be the case, no permanent system could be arranged or enforced, no plan of taxation could be adopted, no provision be made for the furtherance of commerce, no justice effectually executed.

Notwithstanding these considerations, which were plain to the meanest understanding, and which were fortified by the opinions and remonstrances of the Congress, of Washington, and of all who numbered themselves on the side of his principles, the idea that Great Britain was the natural and unappeasable enemy of America was industriously and artfully disseminated; the non-execution of the treaty by the British government was still loaded with invective as the result of a deliberate purpose

on its part to give up the throats of Americans to the scalping knives of the savages—and the refusal of the cabinet of Saint James's to negotiate a commercial treaty was blazoned abroad, ascribed to the jealousy of the rising commerce of America, and put into every perverted shape, and tinged with every false colouring that could tend to inflame the minds of the people and exasperate them against Great Britain. Forgetting that the American people had with the character lost the imperial rights and privileges of British subjects, those designing men did every thing to call up and excite them to the keenest feeling of resentment for their exclusion from the ports of the British West-India islands, and, in a word, contrived so to exasperate the temper of the country against England, and to render the people so suspicious of the British government that every sinister event, every injurious occurrence, happen how or when it might, or come from whatever quarter it would, was directly traced up to British hostility, to the machinations of the British cabinet, to the influence of British policy, and the corrupting effects of British gold. The court of Portugal refused to form a commercial treaty with America, and this was by the faction, proclaimed to have been brought about by the influence of the British government in the cabinet of Lisbon. The piracies of the Barbary corsairs were laid to the charge of British influence, as if piracy were any thing new to those powers, or the Americans were a chosen nation to be exempted from the usual policy of those barbarians.

The Indians made frequent and bloody incursions into the United States, and, as if the Indians were till then wholly unaccustomed to such sanguinary aggressions, even when unprovoked, they were now said to be excited to it by the British government in Canada. Feelings of a like suspicious and angry nature were by those very misrepresentations themselves awakened in the British and thus evil dispositions were increased, an amicable adjustment of their disputes was rendered more difficult, and the ill humour and animosity which lingered in the country after the revolutionary war was over, every day was purposely augmented and inflamed.

All this time the most perfect harmony subsisted between America and France. The gratitude of the Americans to the King of France—to Louis XVI. (for whose murder they afterwards sung *Te Deum*, and whose murderers, while reeking with his blood, the faction have since hugged to their bosoms,) remained still unabated. There was no clashing of interests between them, no remains of old quarrels, no motive to enmity, for the malcontents of America had no creditors in France, nor had France any territory to receive or to surrender. Yet from causes which were not to be counteracted because they inhered in the nature of the thing, the commercial intercourse between France and America fell far short of the expectation of both countries.

Shallow men are apt to ascribe to human institutions powers far greater than they really possess, and to imagine that even the casual deficiencies of nature

may be supplied, and the interruptions which her usual process sometimes sustains from accidents and changes far out of the reach of human controul, and most frequently contrary to human expectation, may be remedied by legislative interference. But the utmost exertion of human ordinance will go but a very short way towards the repair of any breach in the works of nature. The vast channels which nature has marked out and excavated are not to be filled up by man. Every old country has long since discovered its natural advantages and defects, seized upon those things in which it was most fitted to excel, and rejected those which nature has pointed out as unproductive of advantage, or so tardy in improvement that it would be wasting the time and labour due to better purposes to bestow it upon them. Man cannot with impunity usurp the prerogatives of nature nor alter her destinations.

If to wrench things for any long time from their natural station be impossible, to force them from the posture which custom and time have given them is extremely difficult and tedious. Nature had given the British islands every advantage for commerce, though she contracted them in other and greater essentials. On France and Spain she bestowed blessings of another kind, forbidding them, and indeed making it not worth their while, to apply to commerce, or assiduously and exclusively to cultivate manufactures: —so just and equal is Providence in the distribution of her bounties. The French faction in America, however, at the very commencement of the existence of

the States as an independent nation, undertook to counteract those determinations of nature, strengthened as they were by the customs and unalterable institutions of centuries. They resolved to change the face of things in those two countries if they could, and to make the commerce of Great Britain pass over to France. They might as well have hoped to make the vineyards of France and Spain and Italy pass over and enrich the barren rocks and bleak mountains of Great Britain.

All these transactions appear from the face of them to be of the very same family as those which from the breaking out of the French Revolution have agitated, distracted, and almost torn to pieces the moral and political texture of the Union. They were the eldest-born of that hopeful progeny of evils, with which the general relaxation of government and the licentiousness consequent to the revolution, overspread the country. The family likeness is too perfect to be mistaken. It is only to bring them near together and the resemblance will be seen. Mr. Jefferson was at that time, and had been from the conclusion of peace, residing in Paris as Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States. By birth an Anglo-American, he was in heart, soul, habits, manners, taste, disposition, and principle, a Frenchman—an unqualified Frenchman, not of the old but of the new school. Totally devoted to the interests of that country, even during its monarchy, his whole time and labours were occupied in forming contrivances, and projecting

means to turn the whole trade of America from England to France. While all his weight and that of his friends was thrown into the scale of France, Britain had no counterpoise but that which nature, custom, and local circumstances had bestowed upon her. One of the cardinal political maxims of Washington and of the Federal party was, to shew neither partial favour nor enmity to any country, and to preserve America as much as possible from being involved in any offensive or defensive alliances with the nations of Europe: yet they felt, and they avowed it too, a grateful sense of the services rendered by France to their country, and were rather disposed to favour than discourage the rivalship of that kingdom in commerce with Great Britain. Conjointly, the feelings of both parties produced a considerable effect on the public mind. Highly elated at the prospect of an increased channel of trade, the American merchants entered into the new plans with all the alacrity and all the vivid hope which things of specious appearance, however worthless, when recommended by novelty, produce upon light, superficial and sanguine minds. Attempts were made to open a commercial intercourse with France, such as had hitherto been carried on with England. Companies were formed to carry on business on a larger scale and with greater effect. Correspondences were opened, houses established, and partnerships were entered into with the most lively expectations of accomplishing the two-fold purpose of enriching the parties themselves and injuring the

trade of Great Britain. To the mass of political speculators nothing appeared more certain than that France would be made to stand in the same commercial relation to America as Great Britain had done before; and that, so far at least as the European imports of the new country, and the staple manufactures of England which had hitherto found a vent in the United States, Great Britain would be injured and made to feel the importance of America. But political speculations are one thing, the practical application of them another. Few men are so perseveringly enthusiastic in national partialities or resentments as to lay their own comfort and the daily conveniencies of domestic life at the feet of such humours. The people of America therefore, however they might at first have relished the scheme of aggrandizing France at the expense of England, and of exhibiting their own importance in a speculative gasconade, did not at all like the privations attending it. A large portion of them were far from participating in the motives and feelings of Mr. Jefferson and his friends; and still a larger objected to the uncomfortable alteration which a change from the substantial manufactures and useful merchandize of England to the frippery of France, saw likely to effect in their domestic arrangements and personal accommodation. To borrow the idea of a celebrated satirical essayist, "The people of "America still liked a shirt to their ruffle; they "still liked the plain, neat, solid and durable "manufactures of England." Nor was it by utility and convenience alone they were swayed—

Fashion, for this once at least on the side of common sense, operated powerfully in favour of England, and against France. The steady plain fashions of London and Dublin were still the fashions of America. The States had not then, as they have since, been inundated with the profligacy, follies and fashions of France introduced by needy adventure, and received and encouraged by vicious ignorance, and vain upstart prodigality. It was in vain that some contemptible apes for the sake of singularity, and some Gallic proselytes for the sake of France, appeared in French frippery, and even adopted the airs and manners of the coxcombry of that country; it was in vain that the newspapers, almost the whole of which were devoted to France and openly hostile to England, filled their columns with recommendations of French manufactures; the people, in general, still consulting their own interest and convenience, rejected them, and cast into ridicule and contempt all those who exposed their folly by reducing to practice the precepts they daily received from the public prints, and by yielding to the solicitations of the panegyrists of France to imitate the manners, the dress, and the habits of living of the French. A vast portion of the people too retained at bottom, along with other old habits, a spice of natural affection for their mother country, and that feeling was still too strong for the political prejudices of the Union, for the intrigues of France, and for the arts and industry of her American partisans, though aided by the utmost efforts of the most partial and unprincipled press

that had till that time ever disgraced the character, or endangered the civil liberties of a nation. This universal dissent from the Jeffersonian and Gallic opinions, completely frustrated, for that time at least, the project.—The French frippery remained unsold, and unasked for, in the stores of the speculators —and the speculators themselves were undone; while the traders who declined mixing politics with their private concerns, and had honestly paid their British creditors, and opened intercourse with them anew, had goods in abundance upon a long credit which the French either could not, or would not give, and yet were hardly able to supply their customers; so great was the demand for British goods. As the attempt to force the trade with France was a struggle against nature, it shared the common fate of all efforts of the kind, and in less than three years after its commencement died of a natural death, leaving most of those who engaged in it in bankruptcy and cureless ruin.

One effort more remained to be put in trial by the partisans of France. Mortified to the very soul at the failure of their projects to introduce the manufactures of France, they comforted themselves with the hope that they might yet supplant the English in the American trade, by persuading the people to use American manufactures exclusively. To the ostensible principle of this no American could reasonably object. The people in general so heartily concurred in the wish, that they were blinded to the fallacy of the scheme. The best men, and even those who probably suspected the thing to

be impracticable, joined in it, from a decent submission to the will of the people, and a desire to see the experiment fairly tried. General Washington, who was as well qualified as any man living to see what the result would be, appeared, in conformity to the prevailing notion, at the opening of the first Federal Congress, in a suit of clothes entirely of American manufacture. But this project also was soon lost in the experimental conviction that the manufactures would cost the consumer twice or three times as much as the price for which they could import them. In fact it turned out like certain inventions of the seekers of the philosopher's stone, by which, with a very long, difficult, and troublesome process, a false gold was produced, at ten times the expense for which they could buy the best gold ready refined to their hands.

CHAPTER II.

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The first Congress meets—Mr. Madison's attempt to introduce discriminating Duties in favour of France—Mr. Jefferson arrives from France, and is appointed Secretary of State—General Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury—His System of Finance and Plan for paying Public Debts—Disputes between Hamilton and Jefferson—Western Insurrection—Party Violence increases, and even strikes at Washington—Destruction of the French Monarchy—Genet arrives as Ambassador from France—His Conduct.

SUCH was the state of things when the first Congress met on the 14th April, 1789. Mr. Jefferson though in France, had his party in America, who acted under the influence and direction of him, Doctor Franklin, and the French Minister, Vergennes. Of this party, Mr. Madison who was a principal member of the French faction, was also the leader in the legislature of the United States. Scarcely had Congress proceeded upon business, when he and the other partisans of France, finding their first attempts to supplant the commerce of England entirely frustrated, and despairing of effecting their purpose by any thing short of a violent legislativ-

measure, determined to try an experiment upon the new Congress. This was attempted by Mr. Madison himself, who, in a scheme of impost which he introduced and moved to have made into a law, proposed to make certain discriminations in favour of France. These discriminations were firmly opposed by the most impartial and respectable members in the House; and in the course of the discussion opinions were avowed, and passions and feelings broke loose which developed the secret dispositions of the parties, with regard to foreign powers; dispositions which have since been more fully expanded to view, which have grown into enormous bulk as circumstances and opportunity have encouraged them, which have nearly committed the American Republic to one common infamy, and one common fate with France, by involving her in a war-alliance with that government, and the effects of which the Union will feel in all its classes of establishment, for years, if not for ages to come. The best men of the country were then in the majority; the discriminations were rejected on the most plain and simple grounds of reasoning; and the propositions of Mr. Madison had at least this good effect, that they opened the eyes of the people, proved to them the connection that subsisted between the French rulers and those American patriots, developed their intrigues and exposed their corruption. France had not then rendered herself quite so lovely in the eyes of free Americans as she has since done by her revolutionary

virtues and exploits, by her deism, atheism, and multitudinous massacres, by her Marats and Robespierres, her Dantons, and her Bonapartes. Every honest and well-meaning man in America, therefore, let his political opinions with regard to his own country be what they might, at that time disliked France still more than, in the fury and fanatical zeal of America for the French Revolution, the multitude afterwards hated Great Britain.

The most useful and important topics of consideration are furnished by the recapitulation of those circumstances, which nevertheless may, by the daily recurrence of other political controversy and the repetition of other mischievous designs and ruinous measures have been erased from the public memory, or have so faded away as to be cast out of the mind's reckoning in the important account between the parties concerned and their country. They will enable him to determine the motives which have given birth to the extravagant and sinister conduct of the same men when they became possessed of power, to trace those motives back through their systematic wicked policy, and to sound to the very bottom the deep designs of the Jeffersonian junto in every stage of its political career. By an attentive consideration of those extraordinary proceedings, the reader will be enabled to detect the origin of that compact, and of the system of policy grafted upon it, by which Britain was to have been extirpated from among the nations, and to discover why America was to be reduced to a state of provincial

obedience to France—why Brissot, Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Tallien and Barras were, each in his turn, the bosom friends of those American patriots—why Bonaparte is now idolized, feared, obeyed, and declared to have been "sent into the "world for the *happiness and salvation of the human* "*race*;"* and why, in order to favour the views of France under all her various governments, and particularly to favour the designs of Napoleon, the conqueror and enslaver of Europe, all the honest, and good, and wise, and brave men of the Union have been put under interdict and shut out from all interference in the civil concerns of the Union, while the offices of the country of every class, from the highest to the lowest, have been, with not many exceptions, filled with the subordinate creatures of the French faction, proselytes to, and propagators of jacobinism—the very worst men that the most perfect knowledge of the moral characters of the people of each State could enable the executive to select for the accomplishment of its purposes.

It is somewhat curious, and particularly worthy of the notice and remembrance of readers, that in the debate on the Impost Bill in which those discriminations were introduced, Mr. Madison made use of the following argument: "If it be expedient "for America to have vessels employed in com-

* So said Mr. Jefferson, and his followers re-echoed it in the prints.

"merce at all, it will be proper that she have "enough to answer all the purposes intended; to "form a school for seamen; TO LAY THE FOUNDA-"TION OF A NAVY; and to be able to support it-"self against the interference of foreigners." It ought to be remembered too, that in a very short time afterwards, this very Mr. Madison and his party exclaimed and filled the country with indignation against a naval armament; nay, made it a criminal charge against the federal administration that it had *laid the foundation of a navy.* But such is ever the inconsistency of unprincipled men.

About this time Mr. Jefferson, having obtained permission to return, for a short time, to his native country, arrived in Virginia, and Washington, who was desirous to fill all the offices of state with men the most fit for the duties without regard to party, and best entitled to preferment by former public services, and who, in the exalted purity which distinguished his character, had resolved to exercise his judgment with the strictest justice and impartiality in the selection, proposed to place Mr. Jefferson at the head of the department for Foreign Affairs. If the Cabinet he formed be looked to, it will be found to present the strongest proof conceivable, if indeed proof were wanting, of the liberality and integrity of the heart of Washington, of the soundness of his judgment, and of the unmingled patriotism of his motives. Uninfluenced by party feelings, by private friendship, or even by the claims of consanguinity, he drew to the councils of his country the best talents

which, in his judgment, it afforded. A comparison of his selection with that of the present Cabinet, of the purity of the one with the crooked policy of the other, will supply no bad illustration of the characters of the two men—of Washington and Mr. Thomas Jefferson. Of his Cabinet Council which consisted of four, two* were known to be opposed to the adoption of the constitution, under which they nevertheless accepted office.

On his arrival from France in Virginia, Mr. Jefferson received a letter from President Washington offering him the option of the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, or of returning back to France in his station of Minister Plenipotentiary to that court. It is said that he accepted the former in compliance with the wishes of the President, his inclination leading him rather to return to Paris than to remain at home. This is not improbable.—France was then rapidly running into that state of things which he and his friends so ardently wished for. The French revolution was then "in the full "tide of successful experiment;" and Condorcet and his fraternity were much more suitable associates in taste, character, purposes, and principles for Mr. Jefferson, than Washington, Hamilton, or the other wise and worthy men who composed the cabinet of the United States. In the palpable darkness of this gentleman's conduct since the establishment of American independence, we are glad to

* Jefferson and Randolph.

perceive one faint ray of light, and record with pleasure, proportioned to the singularity of the deed, the compliance, though reluctant, of Mr. Jefferson with the will of Washington.

But the most difficult of all the offices of state to be executed was that of Secretary of the Treasury. There was a new system to be erected out of a heap of rubbish and confused materials. "Owing to a variety of causes," (said a celebrated Member of Congress,*) "we shall perceive a great, "though unavoidable, confusion throughout the "whole scene. It presents to the imagination a "deep, dark, and dreary chaos, impossible to be "reduced to order, unless the mind of the architect be clear and capacious, and his power commensurate to the object. He must not be the "flitting creature of the day. He must have time "given him competent to the successful exercise of "his authority." The office, in truth, required a mind of the greatest grasp, replete with deep financial knowledge, and capable of intense application—a temper too, fitted for patient investigation, and habits of indefatigable industry, which are rarely found to accompany that scope of genius which was requisite to the discharge of that arduous office. It required also, no small share of national enthusiasm, and the most consummate integrity.

Washington had long seen all these, and many more valuable qualifications, united in one man. On that man, on Alexander Hamilton, he conferred

* Mr. Fisher Ames.

that important trust. Him alone, Washington considered adequate to its complete execution, or fitted to encounter the manifold and stupendous difficulties that lay in its way. Nor was he mistaken in his estimate of the man, or disappointed in the public effects of his administration. The succeeding session of Congress unfolded the gigantic powers of this extraordinary statesman, and presented them in a shape which will for ages be the admiration of all political economists, and the pride and boast of the American Republic. His plan for the support of public credit, and his report upon it, given in to Congress in the month of January, 1790, will stand an everlasting monument of the great talents and exalted principles of that profound and honest statesman. Enforcing the propriety of making a provision for the payment of the public debt, which the opposite party wished to prevent, he said, "Public credit, can only be maintained "by good faith, and by a punctual perform- "ance of contracts; and good faith is not only re- "commended by the strongest inducements of po- "litical expediency, but enforced by considerations "of still greater authority. There are arguments "for it which rest on the immutable principles of "moral obligation. And in proportion as the mind "is disposed to contemplate in the order of Provi- "dence, an intimate connexion between public "virtue and public happiness will be its repugnance "to a violation of those principles.

"This reflection," said he, "derives additional "strength from the nature of the debt of the United

"States. IT IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY!—the "faith of America has been pledged for it, and "with solemnities that give peculiar force to the "obligation." He then enforced the matter by a variety of powerful arguments, and laid his propositions down *seriatim* for carrying it into effect. The principles contained in his report were affirmed by resolutions of Congress.

No measure could be imagined better calculated to create violent enemies and enthusiastic friends for its author than this of Mr. Hamilton's. The immediate consequence of it was a great and rapid appreciation of the public debt. Those in whose hands large portions of it had accumulated, and who derived from its sudden increase of value a large augmentation of wealth, naturally viewed the measure with great approbation, and applauded the Secretary's plans, while those who, from want of confidence in the integrity of the legislature, had sold their paper, and parted with their claims on the nation for a mere trifle, or at best at a great undervalue, unreasonably turned upon the Secretary the blame which was due to their own suspicions and fears, and unworthy doubts of the justice of their country. Nor were these feelings confined to the people without the doors of Congress: they reached the legislature itself, many members of which were not a little interested in the fate of the public debt. As legislators are liable to the same impressions as other men and can no more than those who appoint them to legislate, controul or conceal their feelings,

the men in Congress felt the measure in the same way their constituents felt it, and the impression it made upon them greatly contributed to accomplish the formation of, and give a distinct and visible character to, the two parties which have since convulsed the Union, and endangered its constitutional existence.

From the first official act of Mr. Hamilton he was warmly opposed. His right, as Secretary of the Treasury, to digest and report plans for the improvement and management of the public revenue, and for the support of public credit was strenuously opposed; but a large majority adopted the principle. His reports, supported by his vigorous arguments, however, imposed conviction upon all who were not from party motives predetermined not to be convinced—and while they raised his reputation for talents still higher even than they had stood before, they raised against him a host of malignant opponents, who resolved to make a vigorous resistance against their further admission. They tried it in the session of 1792, and were unsuccessful. On this occasion the exasperation of party spirit grew up to an inordinate excess, and the strictures which were made in debate in the House, and without doors in the public prints, upon government, reached to a high pitch of licentiousness. Those strictures were chiefly aimed at the measures of the Secretary of the Treasury, which had afterwards received the sanction of the legislature. The government, and those who were advocates for the

federal constitution, were openly impeached of having entertained a desire to put down the republican form of government and erect a monarchy on its ruins; to which end it was said that the federal constitution which contained in it the seeds of monarchy, and was but very little removed from the form of government of Great Britain, had been purposely introduced into America, and supported by the Federalists. The leaders of the faction affected from the very beginning to perceive in the theory, and to discern in the very first practical operations of the federal constitution strong manifestations of a monarchical tendency. The levees of the President, and the evening parties of Mrs. Washington were compared to the palace regulations of England, and were charged with being intended for no other purpose but that of gradually familiarising the people of America to the pomp and manners of European courts.

The exasperation of the parties without doors daily increased, and at last reached to the very cabinet, where a serious, and as it afterwards appeared, an unappeasable disagreement arose between the two Secretaries, Hamilton and Jefferson. These two gentlemen were not only complexionally by nature, but were rendered by habit, education, and their particular pursuits in life, at variance with each other in opinions, feelings, judgment and taste. Though a zealous republican upon the true principles of that species of government, Hamilton was greatly abhorrent of anarchy, and was led by his

observation and experience, to be fearful of the dangers which the independence of his country incurred from the weakness and inefficiency of its government. He was the advocate of a government armed with sufficient power to support itself against attacks within, and with authority and energy to call forth whenever occasion should require it, the force and resources of the nation, to defend it against any hostility from without. Tremblingly alive to the honour of his country and anxious for the maintenance of her reputation for justice, he was willing to encounter every hazard of unpopularity, provided he could in doing so make the people true to themselves and to their country by inducing them to maintain their good faith both private and public, and to observe with strict punctuality all their engagements, but particularly those of a pecuniary nature. Aware of the evils with which an absolute sovereignty in each of the separate States, independent of the general government, was fraught to the nation, and convinced from his knowledge of man's nature, that the leaning of individuals, would be each to his particular State rather than to the great national union, and that the prejudices of the people would naturally run in favour of the States, he avowed the opinion and always acted upon it, that the general government ought to be strengthened, and the power of the others prevented from increase; and he maintained that the greatest hazards to which the Constitution was exposed were likely to arise from the imbecility of the former,

and the encroachments of the latter. He was, on principle, the friend of order and vigorous government, without which he was persuaded no nation could be free; and, having witnessed in his time the mischievous consequences of leaving unbridled power in the hands of licentious multitudes, and abhorring the frauds practised by those demagogues who flatter and fawn upon the people only to delude their ignorance and cheat them into servitude, he was on principle at war with the whole host of popularity seekers, who at all times in popular governments—but chiefly "in times of commo-"tion, gain public confidence and importance "without meriting either, and who, like political "mountebanks, are less solicitous about the health "of the credulous crowd, than about making the "most of their nostrums and prescriptions." Aware too, that as the federal government, being yet new, and therefore without the aid of habitual reverence, and having but lately sprung from revolutionary tumult and confusion, would be a long time acquiring stability and strength, he regarded with suspicion, and almost with dislike, all those restless spirits, those admirers of revolution and change, whose interference and sinister projects were likely to overturn it, or render it so feeble and inefficient as to endanger the cohesion of the several States in that united form in which alone they could rise in the scale of nations, and bid defiance to the outrages of foreign or domestic enemies.—What his adversary, Mr. Jefferson, was, it is the purport of these sheets

circumstantially to narrate. Generally speaking, he was the very reverse of Hamilton.

The party feuds and animosities which prevailed among the people at large, were regarded by Washington with great regret—regret mitigated by the reflection that however they might disagree among themselves, the great machine of state might move forward without any violent obstruction, if retained under the guidance of able, honest, and patriotic counsellors.—But the introduction of those animosities into the Cabinet deeply affected him, and proportioned to his feelings on that score were the exertions he made to effect a reconciliation. Had there been no other cause for disagreement but their variance of opinion upon subjects merely domestic, those exertions might perhaps have been successful. But there was a cause more dear to one of them than any thing belonging to America. To him it was of little importance what could be done for the advantage of America if the purposes of France were not answered; having been imbued with all the feelings of a mere Frenchman of the day. The despotic conduct and cruel tyranny of Louis XVI. which he had witnessed while in France, had filled him in common with Robespierre and Tom Paine with an unextinguishable abhorrence of monarchy, and he could see no danger to a people in any thing but executive power. His creed, and that of his party, was, that all who did not rejoice in the downfal of Louis, and admire the French revolutionists, must at heart be monarchists. From the ambition

of democratic bodies he feared nothing. So long as the State sovereignties were at variance with their superior sovereign the general government, they were all right. No jealousy, he said, was to be entertained of their power, no apprehension of their separate designs, no suspicion of their encroachments. Nor would he see the least glimpse of danger to the liberty of the country but from the constituted authorities of the confederation, and above all from the despotic power of the executive government.

From the facts already stated, it must before this have been too manifest to the reader, that there existed even from the Revolution a very strong and indefatigable French party in the States, and if it has not yet, it soon shall be made equally manifest that Mr. Jefferson was at the head of that party—first occultly, and afterwards openly. In this partiality to France, and in a correspondent enmity to Great Britain, a large proportion of the American people, more or less, participated. These feelings had been kept alive by the means so often alluded to, and were displayed in various forms, particularly in the State Legislatures, from whence they made their way higher, and reached Congress. But while these sentiments were felt by the mass of the people at large, those who would allow them any influence in the politics of the Union were yet inconsiderable in number, compared with those who would not. In forming the commercial regulations of the Union, one party wished to turn the channel of trade in

favour of France by discriminating duties—the other maintained that discriminations were unjust and that they amounted to a tax on American agriculture and a bounty on the navigation and manufactures of a favoured foreign nation. Of the latter opinion Hamilton was the leading advocate: Mr. Jefferson of the former. Both acted as ought to be expected from them. Hamilton was in principle and affection an American: Jefferson a Frenchman in institution and in heart. Nor was the opposition of those two gentlemen to each other confined to the commercial regulations: that was only one point, though perhaps the most important. It embraced systematically every relation between America and Great Britain and France. For the attainment of his purposes Mr. Jefferson now took into his particular patronage and hire a daily paper called "The National Gazette." It was ostensibly edited by a clerk in the department of state over which he presided, but was supplied with the productions of the Secretary himself. It set out with an assumption to give to the perusal of Americans, European articles of intelligence taken from the purer fountains of the continent of Europe, instead of English papers. But this was only a fair and painted mask to conceal its real purposes. In the National Gazette the public soon found a copious repertory of false and criminal slander—an overloaded vehicle of the worst kind of calumny, not only against the object of Mr. Jefferson's avowed enmity and his official acts, but against the great man who presided over the Union

and every measure of his Cabinet—against the banking system—against the treasury department—against the duty on home made spirits, and, in general, against the men of every class and denomination who supported them.

Washington, who saw with the deepest concern the rising and inordinate growth of those dissentions, employed every argument and every persuasion to soothe and conciliate the parties, but had the mortification to find every effort unsuccessful and to see the bad effects of the example set by the Secretary of State and his partisans of the press, spreading all over the Union. One of the mischiefs arising from it was the encouragement it gave to the spirit of resistance to the established government which had so long prevailed, and particularly to the resistance made in the western parts of the Union, to the execution of the laws imposing a duty upon home made spirits; or, in other words, to the "WESTERN INSURRECTION."

It cannot be too frequently recalled to the recollection of the reader that, from the outset of the Commonwealth, there existed in its bosom a faction the devoted slaves of France, whose purpose it was to make every thing in America subservient to the interests of the French nation, to provoke America into a war with Great Britain, or else to provoke Great Britain to declare war against America; to throw the whole country into a state of anarchy, and to push from government the patriotic

men; who, being in reality Americans in heart as well as by birth, devoted their labours to preserve their country from rushing headlong into the ruin which the rulers of France were then preparing for, and have since brought upon almost the whole of the civilized world. What hand the partisans of France had in the western insurrection, though it might have been suspected by some, was not publicly promulgated till some time after the outrages of the insurgents had been repressed, and the machinations of the faction who encouraged them were defeated.

In that part of the State of Pennsylvania which lies beyond the Alleghany mountains, the federal constitution had from the beginning met the most resolute opposition; and all those persons who supported it and indeed the government under it after its adoption, were regarded by the majority of the people in that portion of the Union with the most unqualified and unabated enmity. The measures of administration in general, and particularly the whole financial system of the Secretary of the Treasury, were reprobated with peculiar acerbity, and the rancour of those feelings displayed in great bitterness of invective, extended from the low and uninformed to many of the most important and influential personages in that country. Remote from the seat of government, independent from their situation, bold and uncomplying in character, and imbued with the wildest principles of democracy, by receiving their tenets in transmission through the succes-

sive retails and vicious comments of vulgar village prints, their brains were stuffed with all the common-place trash of the metropolitan mob-politicians, inflamed by the exaggerations of successive editors. They held therefore in abhorrence, every thing which their instructors of this kind represented to them, as being in the most remote degree akin to the abuses of old establishments. The word *excise* which for years had been the watch-word of the seditious in the country of their ancestors, must of course have been always odious to them;—but an excise of the particular kind introduced on the present occasion, was from a variety of local considerations, likely to be above all other things hateful and alarming to them. To the duty itself, they had on its own account, every motive to be averse, and that averseness was augmented by their dislike to those who were the authors of it. This would probably have been the state of their feelings and opinions if they had been left to the naked effects of the measure itself upon their own opinions and dispositions; but when they found that the measure was furiously attacked not only within the doors of Congress, but out of it, by men of their way of thinking, —when they heard of its being reprobated by members of their national legislature as unnecessary, cruel, impolitic, and tyrannical—when they had reason to think it likely, from what passed on the floor of Congress, that its execution would be resisted, and that an active, powerful party pervading the whole Union were hostile to the whole system of

finance, as being dangerous to the liberties of the people, and intended by its authors and advocates for the subversion of the Republican institutions of America, it might naturally be expected that they would lend a ready ear to the pernicious suggestions of the French faction, who, while they had American freedom and independence in their mouths, thought of nothing less than America and her real interests, nor seemed to wish for any thing save their own private advantage, so much as the aggrandizement of jacobin France, and the downfal of anti-jacobin Britain. Confederated in opposition with so large and so influential a portion of the population of the United States, it is no wonder that they felt so little reluctance, and so little fear to resist the laws, and that they entertained the most sanguine hopes of accomplishing their purposes by resolute perseverance in opposition to the government.

It was evident, from its earliest appearance, that the resistance to the excise law in the Pennsylvanian district, was a deep founded systematic attack upon the authority of the existing government. The opposition which the duty met with in other parts of the Union, seemed to be the result of temporary exasperation, not of a preconcerted scheme; it was trifling, short, and desultory, and was soon overcome by the prudence, and resolute good temper of government; but in this district it wore a much more dangerous aspect. It was not the confused outrageous clamour of a mob—deep political purposes, and dark designing politicians were evidently

the promoters of it. In its rising, and in its various progressive stages, whatever the pretext might be under which it was masked, it uniformly betrayed the front of bold and daring rebellion.—Demagogues of no vulgar order were at the bottom of it; and he must have been deficient in penetration as a statesman who could not perceive some foreign influence or other setting it in motion. The great storm was preceded by elementary menacings in which the experienced and skilful eye could discover indications of the ravages that were to follow. Opinions hostile in the extreme to the measures of administration in general, were first circulated for the purpose of depriving government of that defence it possessed in the reverence and good estimation of the people.—Then were poured into the public ear, new principles entirely subversive of those on which the government stood, and dogmas respecting rights taken from the French school, and adapted to the local circumstances of those tramontane regions.—To these succeeded a general diffusion of opinions directed at the duty itself, and calculated with the aid of gross misrepresentations, to render it odious. Of all acts of oppression, an excise on home distilled spirits was represented to them as the most cruel, and most deeply affecting their domestic comfort.—"Happy "cultivators of these most happy regions," (said the French faction,) "your lands are fertile, and "watered by the finest rivers in the world—but the "abundant fruits of your labour run the risk of "perishing on your hands for want of the means of

"exchanging them for objects which desire indi-
"cates to all men who know the enjoyments that
"Europe affords them. You have found out the
"means of applying a remedy to this evil—a poor
"and partial one—by converting the excess of your
"produce into liquors, imperfectly fabricated—a
"bad substitute for those which your fellow-citi-
"zens on the Atlantic procure by exchange. This
"comfortable transformation is struck at by a tyran-
"ical excise, and all your complaints are answer-
"ed only by an assertion that you are inaccessible
"to every other species of impost!—Why are you
"left, in contempt of treaties, to bear the yoke of
"the feeble Spaniards* as to the Mississippi for
"upwards of twelve years? Since what time has
"an agricultural people submitted to the unjust,
"capricious law of a people, explorers of the pre-
"cious metals? Do you not see that Madrid and
"Philadelphia mutually assist each other in pro-
"longing the slavery of the river—that the pro-
"prietors of a barren coast are afraid lest the Mis-
"sissippi, once opened, and its numerous branches
"brought into activity, their fields might become
"deserts!"

Such was the language and such the reasoning by which, among others, the western people were roused to insurrection. It is taken from the mouth, or at least the pen of the French Minister resident

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* Spain was at that time in alliance with England against the French Regicides.

in America, to whose dispatches to his employers in Paris the historian of this affair is indebted for much information respecting it. It will hereafter be shown upon the written evidence of that French Minister himself, that a part of the plan from the beginning, was to fix upon the British government the guilt of fomenting and secretly assisting in this insurrection. Yet here the French Minister is found disclosing to his government, that a great part of the exasperating circumstances by which the insurrection was fomented, was a representation of the hostile conduct of Spain respecting the navigation of the Mississippi. Here the cloven foot of the French faction appears. England being at the time in close alliance with Spain against France, could not have wished to incite the people of America to go to war with Spain; whereas, it is on record, as will appear hereafter in this volume, that the partisans of France, with Genet the French Ambassador at their head, went to the most unpardonable lengths to plunge America in a war with Spain and England, and to send an American army against the Spanish settlements.

At length the insurrection began to assume the shape and size of a rebellion. Concealment was no longer considered necessary. Meetings of the several counties were held, in which the most violent and audacious resolutions were agreed to. Acts of the most illegal kind, and cruel personal outrages were committed on the revenue officers. After organizing their plans in these subordinate

meetings, delegates from the several counties held a meeting at Pittsburg in which resolutions were passed not inferior in criminality to those agreed to before by the counties.—The most unqualified censure was thrown out upon the excise law—the most insolent reproaches and malignant invectives upon its authors. Menaces were publicly directed against the officers of government, and the insurgents declared they should consider, and called upon their fellow-citizens to consider, as enemies to the interests of the country, any person accepting office under the excise law. They recommended to the people to treat all such men as should accept an office in the collection of the duties with contempt, to refuse all communication or intercourse with them, and to withhold from them all aid, comfort, and support. But this was not all. They accumulated together and published topics of direct crimination upon government, in matters that had no relation whatsoever to them particularly, or to the subject of their meeting; and they plainly demonstrated by their proceedings that their hostility was not so much provoked by the duty upon spirits, as directed against the Constitution itself. They not only attacked the government and its administration, but discussed and reprobated the salaries of the officers—investigated the conduct of Congress respecting the payment of the public debt, which they censured, inveighing bitterly against the interest granted on it, an expenditure they were pleased to call unreasonable. They explicitly condemned Congress for not making

a discrimination as the members of their faction desired, between the original holders of the public securities and the transferrers or purchasers; and they execrated the institution of a national bank. In short, hardly one measure of government or of Congress escaped their abuse, because not one measure of either came from the faction of France. What rendered all this more alarming at the time to every good citizen, and will forever make the remembrance of it affecting to every true American is, that the meetings were composed of persons of influence, importance, and authority in the country.

To the publications of these meetings, succeeded the most gross practical outrages. The collectors and other officers of excise, and the distillers who obeyed the law were way-laid by armed mobs in disguise, and were tarred and feathered—had their hair cut off, their cloaths, and, where they had any, their horses taken from them—their houses burned down, and their effects destroyed. Sometimes they were taken out of bed and whipped, and sometimes burned with red hot iron, and treated with inhumanity enough to make the stoutest heart shudder. In these base acts, men of weight and consideration were known to have been concerned as actors. The deep extent of their designs, the deliberate means by which they executed them, and the craftiness of the language with which they glossed over their purposes, evince the character and quality of the persons who set them in motion. Sometimes they would call in the aid of a palpable blunder to express their trai-

torous purposes, without incurring the guilt of treason. Thus in the meeting at Pittsburgh they avowed that " They think it their duty to persist in " remonstrances to Congress, and in *every legal* " *measure that may obstruct the operation of the* " *law.*"

The idea of *obstructing law by legal measures*, says the great statesman from whose report this is taken, needs little comment. The effect of these proceedings upon the public mind and spirit was alarming and affecting. By the anathemas of those lawless meetings the officers of government, the complying distillers, and in a word all whom this band of usurpers chose to persecute, were placed in a state of virtual outlawry—and a signal was given to all who were profligate and bold enough to encounter such guilt and danger, to violate the most sacred rights, and to destroy the property and imbrue their hands in the blood of their innocent and unoffending fellow-citizens.

A repugnance to have recourse to harsh means induced the government in this first instance to forbear noticing those proceedings as they deserved. The legislature even went so far in concession as to alter and amend the act in order to satisfy the discontented. The executive and legislative ought to have known that concessions to men in insurrection only increases their audacity, and encourages them to augment their demands. It happened nearly so in this instance. The conciliatory attempt of Congress was followed by increased outrage and violence on the part of the insurgents.

Washington, who knew as well as any man living the dangerous tendency as well as the disgrace and indignity such violent proceedings reflected upon government, was still resolved if possible to circumscribe his conduct within the too narrow limits prescribed to his power by the law, and therefore issued a proclamation exhorting and admonishing all persons to desist from any combinations and proceedings whatsoever which might tend to obstruct the execution of the laws, and requiring the interference of the civil magistrates. In the mean time he ordered prosecutions to be instituted against the offenders. But the proclamation produced no good effect. Many of the magistrates were themselves offenders, and those who were not implicated in that guilt were unable to enforce the execution of the laws. Thus, while impelled on one hand by a lawless infuriated multitude to resist the law under penalty of severe punishment, if not utter destruction, and on the other encouraged by the impunity held out to them by the feebleness of the magistracy, and their utter incapacity to enforce the execution of the laws, the people saw that it was much more dangerous to obey the law than to resist it; and they shaped their conduct accordingly.

Not only for the observance of chronological order and for the purpose of attending to other political circumstances in their proper place, but in order to introduce certain persons and incidents which will more completely develope the deep-laid and dangerous designs of the movers of this insurrection, that part of the subject is left for the present. The reader, however, will do well to keep it in

sight till the matter comes to be resumed in its proper order. Should the United States continue to exist and the people of America remain free, posterity will ask how it was possible for a government to live, or for a people to retain their independence, when the chief magistrate was, from want of constitutional power, obliged to resign the country for a considerable space of time to the domination of a body of insurgents who successfully resisted the laws, and bid defiance to the utmost exertions made by the legislative and executive authority to suppress them.

Party now began to rage with increased fury, and political controversy every day more and more assumed the shape of personal rancour. The great object of the French faction's hatred was the Secretary of the Treasury. His difference with their chief, Jefferson, was not to be forgiven him. On the 27th February, 1793, one of them (Mr. Giles, of Virginia) moved in the House of Representatives several resolutions deeply inculpating that officer. The debate upon these lasted to the first of March when they were rejected by a very large majority, sixteen being the highest number that voted in favour of any one of them. The greater part of Mr. Giles's partisans were themselves ashamed of voting for such unfounded, unjust, and scandalous charges. The debate, however, afforded the most malignant of the faction an opportunity to pour forth their venom, to unburthen their hearts of the load of hatred to Mr. Hamilton that weighed upon them, and to prove their loyalty to France and to

their chief, Mr. Jefferson, by their acrimony towards that man whose wisdom, virtue and fortitude constituted one of the best bulwarks of his country's security against the machinations of both. The irritation of the members was extreme. The parties had now taken the express form of ministerial and opposition; the latter of which however did not yet dare to accuse Washington of the evil designs they attributed to some members of his cabinet and to those who supported the ministerial measures; not but that their disposition towards him appeared to be at heart little less malignant than that which they exhibited so openly to his cabinet. The first circumstance that disclosed the cloven foot to sight, and betrayed their private feelings towards Washington, occurred on his birth day; when a motion was made for the House to adjourn for half an hour, for the purpose, as every one understood, of waiting upon the President to congratulate him upon that occasion. To the infinite astonishment and disgust of the American public, though no doubt to the great joy and gratification of the faction and its friends and partisans, the motion of adjournment was opposed. In that House which never would have existed or sat there but for his wonderful exertions, and by representatives of that people which his labours had emancipated, was an ordinary compliment, which in common life friends and neighbours pay to each other; deliberately refused to Washington, by men calling themselves Americans. But it was nevertheless carried by a majority of forty-one to eighteen. The game once started within

doors, the whole faction without set off in full cry after it; and in Mr. Jefferson's paper, "The National Gazette," edited by Freneau, the members who proposed and voted for the adjournment were acrimoniously attacked—accused of setting up an idol who might become dangerous to liberty—and impeached of doing injustice to all the compatriots of Washington in the Revolution, in ascribing to him the praise that was due to them. From this it was apparent that the respect in which the President was held by the nation would not long serve to protect him from the malevolence of the Jeffersonians and French, and that the great man himself would soon become the object of their base and envenomed scurrility.

In fact, the little remains of principle and decency which yet lurked in the bosoms of the faction was advancing with rapid steps to total extinction. With the principles and practice of France their opinions and conduct had long kept pace—and as the French revolutionists had now arrived pretty nearly at the very acme of their turpitude, their friends, coadjutors, and agents in America could not consistently be behind hand with them in wickedness. More encouraged by the hope of sharing in the good fortune by imitating the crimes of the robbers, regicides, and oppressors of France, than deterred by the sufferings of an oppressed people, or checked by moral feeling or remorse, they exulted in the malignant philosophy which had deliberately waded after fancied systems through oceans of blood, and were no less than their prototypes of

Paris, fanatical in the propagation of their most wicked and insane doctrines. Honour, decorum, truth, even the most slovenly pretensions to them were thrown aside: The papers in the pay of the faction were filled with the most unqualified reprobation of executive measures, and with the most rancorous personal invective against Mr. Hamilton. Him they represented as the advocate of aristocracy, monarchy, hereditary succession, and all the mock pageantry of kingly government. Him they accused of holding principles unfavourable to the sovereignty of the people, and with inculcating doctrines denying their competency to rule themselves. They represented that he had held up the British constitution as the best model of a perfect government, and had recommended it to the adoption of the people. They held up to public execration all his systems of finance as being part of his favourite project of assimilating the government of the United States to that of Great Britain, of the financial schemes of which these of Mr. Hamilton's were but servile imitations. They said that with this view he had entailed upon the nation an enormous debt and perpetual taxes, and created an artificial monied interest which had and would continue to corrupt the legislature; and that he was endeavouring to extinguish the local state authorities, as a necessary step towards erecting that great consolidated monarchy which he contemplated. To support these charges his reports were garbled; and detached parts and broken sentences were selected from them, and wrenched from their real meaning to express the va-

luable purposes to which a funded debt might be applied, and to establish a maxim falsely ascribed to him that " a public debt was a public blessing."

The total destruction of the French monarchy gave a new spirit to the feelings and an increased tone to the language of the French faction in America, and had an immense influence upon the parties and political transactions of the Union. This event was announced to the President by the French Minister in January, 1793. Early in the following April the intelligence of war having been declared by France against Great Britain and Holland reached the United States. The whole country of all parties, with very few exceptions, took part with France, pronounced the war an aggression on the part of Great Britain for the purpose of pulling down the republican government in France, in order to give it a monarchical, and the few who maintained an opposite opinion were held up to public detestation, and stigmatized as agents of Great Britain, and advocates of despotic monarchy.—Many went so far as to urge a participation in the war, and to assert that it was criminal to remain unconcerned spectators of a conflict between their ancient enemies and republican France. In an extreme partiality to France and in a full indulgence of the most heart-felt wishes for her success there was an universal agreement. But the inclination to join France in the war and to involve the country in the political consequences of such a measure was by no means general.

Washington, who had lately been again unanimously re-elected President, had been called by some

urgent occasion home to Mount Vernon. There the intelligence reached him of war having broken out in Europe. He heard also, that this event was no sooner known in America than a general disposition was manifested to engage in the illicit business of privateering on the commerce of the belligerent nations, and he foresaw that great and endless mischiefs would ensue if immediate steps were not taken to prevent any interference between the powers at war, by Americans. He therefore wrote to the heads of the different departments of government desiring their immediate attention to the business, and set out himself the next day for Philadelphia. On his arrival there he submitted a series of questions in writing to the consideration of the cabinet Ministers, by the answers to which a system would be formed to regulate the conduct of the government in the trying circumstances that were likely to follow. A meeting of the heads of departments and of the Attorney General was then convened at the President's house, at which it was unanimously agreed that a proclamation ought to be issued forbidding the citizens of the United States to take any part in any hostilities on the seas with or against any of the belligerent powers; warning them against carrying to any of those powers articles deemed contraband of war according to the modern usage of nations; and enjoining them from all acts inconsistent with the duties of a friendly nation towards those at war. They were equally unanimous on the question of receiving a Minister from the Republic of France. But they

differed on two very important points;—one was the question whether the reception of the French Minister should be qualified by any explanation. On this point the Secretary of State (Jefferson) and the Attorney General thought that there was no reason for departing in this instance from the usual mode: The others, that is to say the Secretary of the Treasury (Hamilton) and the Secretary at War, thought that the existing system of government in France could hardly be considered as permanent, and therefore were for qualifying the reception. The other point was whether America was bound by the guarantee clause in the treaty of alliance made during the Revolution with respect to its application to the existing war. Respecting this, Secretary Jefferson and the Attorney General were of opinion that there was nothing in the alteration of the government or in the character of the war which could impair the right of France to demand, or lessen the duty of the United States to perform, the engagements she had solemnly made; and that there was no necessity for deciding upon it; while Secretary Hamilton, and the head of the War Department were clearly of opinion that the treaty of alliance was merely defensive, and that the clause of guarantee could not apply to a war which, being commenced by France, must be considered as offensive on the part of that power.

The proclamation of neutrality being contradictory to the feelings and passions of a large share of the people, gave occasion for the first open attack upon the venerable character of Washington.—The faction now found that they had a potent hold upon

the people in their predilections for France, and that they might venture to oppose those and perhaps successfully, to their feelings for the President. For a time they observed some degree of delicacy. Though very severe, their publications were not vulgarly abusive or personally scurrilous; but they soon assumed a different character. The French Minister who had been sent to the United States during the monarchy was recalled and another was sent out in his place by the Regicides.—Mons. Genet arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, where he was received with the most extraordinary joy and enthusiastic affection by the Governor and citizens. A description of his reception and treatment there would savour too strongly of burlesque to be properly associated with the gravity of history. Pleased with the marks of public attachment which were every moment lavished upon him, he remained at Charleston for several days, during which time he was by no means idle or inattentive to the interests of his high and mighty employers. Notwithstanding the proclamation of neutrality, he had the effrontery to authorise, and some of the people of that city had the audacity to join in the fitting out and arming of vessels, enlisting men; and he issued on his own authority commissions to cruise and commit hostilities on nations with whom the United States was then at peace. The French flag was flying from the windows of this city as if it were a seaport of France. Such was Genet's manifest contempt for the government that he acted without its

privacy or consent. At this time he had not been even formally acknowledged by the executive of the United States—yet he assumed the prerogative of authorising the French Consuls to hold courts of admiralty on the prizes brought into the ports of America by his privateers, and to condemn them to sale and confiscation.

Genet brought along with him instructions to involve the United States in the war along with France if possible; and grounding his hopes of success upon the opinion he entertained of the people, he looked for nothing less than to command the country in a very short time. He had also received instructions if he should fail in bringing the States into the war, to obtain payment in advance of the debt due by America to France—and this he actually accomplished: and finally, he was directed if he should not be able to bring over the government of America to enter into the war with France, to appeal to the people, whose sovereignty in the United States was supreme, whose partiality to the rulers of France was acknowledged, and who would therefore in all likelihood enter into the war, whether their government would or not. It was to try the temper of the people for this last resource, before he should meet the President and learn his sentiments, that Genet landed at a point so far remote from the seat of government as Charleston.

After remaining ten days at Charleston, during which time he managed matters in the best manner and to the fullest effect that his regicide masters could desire, he departed from that city leaving be-

hind him among the people, not one atom that was not French, excepting the language that they spoke, which, if it were not now too late for them to lay aside, they would joyfully have changed for French. —On his journey to Philadelphia he was hailed at every stage by the acclamations of the people; nothing was to be seen or heard of but civic feasts, civic processions, civic banquets, and civic drinking matches. In both the Carolinas and Virginia all was an uproar of brawling joy and drunken festivity. The eyes of the multitude dwelt with rapture upon this charming representative of the virtues of France, and they all struggled with each other for precedence in the infamy of bowing to the envoy of the murderers of their benefactor, Louis the sixteenth.

It is a task of the most disgusting kind to dwell upon the extravagant demonstrations of joy, and the ridiculous testimonies of respect bestowed upon this minister of an ephemeral band of usurpers. Yet it must be done, because it may stand as a memorial of the folly of multitudes, and of the incapacity of a people to distinguish that which is desirable and good from that which is specious and pernicious. Any individual of the crouds who attended that Minister's levee possessed of common understanding and but moderate sensibility, would now blush at the thoughts of having acted that base degrading part if he were not kept in countenance by the recollection that so many other mean fools had gone along with him, and acted just as he had

done.* Committees of citizens were appointed to draw up addresses, and other committees of citizens were appointed to deliver them. The columns of the newspapers were cleared of their advertisements—even local politics and political cut-throatism gave way to make room for the publication and re-publication of the citizen people's congratulatory addresses, the citizen orators' speeches, and the citizen Ambassador's gracious answers.—In a word, nothing was for several days to be seen or heard but the name of Genet and the glories of French fraternity.

These addresses may stand for ever as a specimen of the virtue and wisdom of democracies. A self selected few took upon them to speak for the whole city of Philadelphia; which whole city of Philadelphia if accurately collected together, would have violated the established order of things, and encroached on the prerogatives of their government if they had addressed as Ambassador to their country a man who had not been seen by, nor spoken to, nor was acknowledged or accredited as such by the lawful authorities of their country constituted for that purpose. It was indeed a finished picture of the madness of democracy, the great and sovereign people taking the lead—assuming the first rank in the

* To the great disgrace of the London mob, they played the same abominable farce with Andreossi, the French Ambassador, on his arrival in that city, upon Addington's peace.—But it was their first offence *of that kind*, and it is likely to be their last.

state at their civic feasts, and ordering their servants, the chief magistrate and officers of state, to wait at the back of their chairs, and take their leavings.—The keen and better informed Frenchman saw, derided, and profited by all this.—He saw in this simple fact, that it was a country in which the government was a mere non-entity, a cypher, and accordingly he treated it as such. Those who joined in that rabble-rout degradation of their country, had no right to complain of Genet's afterwards appealing, as he did, from the government to the people.

If the United States had reason at so early a stage of existence to deplore the principled corruption of some of their statesmen, and the extravagant folly and madness of their sovereign people, they have already to boast that one of the wisest statesmen which the world has produced, was their first Chief Magistrate. Washington's proclamation of neutrality was a novelty in the political world. It was however the wisest measure as adapted to the circumstances, that history records. It accomplished the purpose for which it was intended, and that purpose was one of the best and most salutary of which any nation had ever experienced the benefit of. It was intended to prevent the French Minister from demanding the performance of the guarantee contained in the treaty of alliance, and it was admirably calculated to prepare the minds of the people for approving of the refusal which, if he made the demand, Washington was resolved to give him. Never was a measure more approved of than this was by

all who wished well to the federal government, and who abhorred the thoughts of being revisited by war with all its privations, dangers, anarchy, and misery. Addresses poured in from all quarters. Though most of the addresses were very warm in the cause of France, and expressed a wish that she should trample upon all the crowns, and destroy all the kings upon earth, together with the very thrones that they sat upon; still the people of America in general wished to resign the credit of doing so to France herself. It was a glory to which they did not aspire to any further share in than exhorting others to do it; or perhaps that of praying for it.—As to any other contribution they had nothing more to offer than a flaming address, a toast, a wish, or an oration.

Those of the American people who enrolled themselves in the democratic list, and to whom the appellation of "the French Faction" peculiarly belongs, made no concealment of their feelings, felt no scruple, conceived it no disgrace to rejoice at the murder of the benevolent Louis, whom but lately they had extolled as their good friend and ally. Washington, however, and a large proportion of the Congress were far from partaking in their joy, or viewing the proceedings of the French Regicides with an eye of favour. The President and his partisans were startled at the turbulence, the fury and the injustice of the convention. They took a dispassionate review of all the prominent acts of that government, if it deserved that name, and they saw that the Revolution had all along been attended with circumstances

which almost demonstrated to their conviction that it had not been brought up to the situation in which it then stood by such a free, regular, and deliberate act of the nation as would authorise or give validity to the acts which had been done. They did not think that the present possessors of power in France had acquired it with the real consent of that country; but that on the contrary they had grasped it by fraud and violence; and they shrewdly suspected that the existing state of things could not be permanent.

Neither Genet nor his regicide masters had foreseen the masterly stroke of policy which Washington had to throw in the way of their expectations; much less did they suspect that it would be resorted to before their Ambassador could find time to make his warlike proposals: The determined neutrality of Washington, therefore, was a dreadful disappointment to him. He was, however, received and acknowledged as Ambassador by the President, who deported himself on the occasion with frankness, and, without saying any thing respecting the Revolution, expressed a sincere and cordial regard for the French nation. Genet on the other hand gave the most positive and explicit assurances that in consequence of the distance of the United States from the theatre of action, as well as on other accounts, France did not wish to engage the Americans in the war, but would willingly leave them to pursue their happiness and prosperity in peace. The executive, however, knew sufficiently well from his proceedings at Charleston that little credit was to be given to his protestations.

The truth was that he had made known his instructions immediately on his landing in Charleston, and that in consequence of his having done so, an article appeared the next day in the Charleston paper stating the fact, and saying that the federal government must necessarily take a part in the war. The paragraph was thence transferred into a Philadelphia paper on the very day that the proclamation of neutrality was issued.

As might reasonably be expected, the British Minister gave in to the American executive a long list of complaints against the proceedings at Charleston, against Genet, and against the assumption of sovereignty which tended to make America an instrument of hostility, to be wielded by France against Great Britain and the powers in alliance with her, and which was still further aggravated by the commission of actual hostilities within the territories of the United States; the ship Grange, a British vessel which had been cleared out from Philadelphia, being captured by the French frigate l'Ambuscade within the Capes of the Delaware. Those prizes being brought in within the power of the American government, the British Minister demanded a restitution of them. On receiving these complaints the cabinet were unanimously of opinion that the proceedings complained of were usurpations of national sovereignty, and violations of neutral rights, a repetition of which it was the duty of government to prevent. They also unanimously agreed to put the law in force against those citizens of the United States who had joined in committing the offences. But on the ques-

tion of restitution of the vessels taken, except as to the ship Grange, the cabinet was less unanimous. Mr. Jefferson and his friend the Attorney General were of opinion that the vessels of England which had been captured on the high seas, and brought into the United States by privateers fitted out and commissioned in their ports ought not to be restored. On the other hand Mr. Secretary Hamilton and the Secretary at War insisted that a neutral permitting itself to be made an instrument of hostility by one belligerent against another became thereby an associate in the war.—That if armaments might be formed by France within the United States, to war upon her enemies, and might return with the spoils taken and prepare new enterprises, it was apparent that a state of war would exist between America and those enemies, of the very worst kind for the latter; since, while the resources of the country were employed in annoying them, the instruments of this annoyance would be protected from pursuit by the privileges of an ostensible neutrality. It being confessedly the duty of neutral nations not to suffer privateers to be fitted out in their ports to annoy the trade of the belligerents, they were bound to remedy any injury which might be sustained by their neglect of that duty. And when the prizes were brought into American ports within reach of the arm of the American government, it could not be pleaded that they were not able to administer a specific remedy for the wrong done. They therefore thought that restitution ought to be made. Thus it is observable, that in every point of contest respecting the rights

of Great Britain and France in which the slightest opening was left to exercise their sophistry in defence of France, in opposition to the interests of her adversary, Mr. Jefferson and his adherents were found the ready, active, partial agents and advocates of the former.

Genet was highly dissatisfied with the decisions of the cabinet.—He expostulated—he argued with a warmth not far removed from indecency, and indeed verging upon reproach and menace.—In vain did he endeavour to drive the venerable President from his ground: upon him neither expostulation, nor flattery, nor threats, nor promises had any effect: and Mr. Genet was informed that the subjects in question had, out of respect to him, been reconsidered by the executive, but that there appeared no cause whatsoever for changing the system already adopted. It was further intimated to him, that the President expected that the vessels illegally equipped should be ordered to depart from the American ports.

Genet, who was unwilling to acquiesce in the decisions of the cabinet, and who, from the violent partiality which every where was shown for France, from the little respect which the multitude and the faction showed for the government, and from the barefaced, if not criminal audacity with which the issuing of the proclamation of neutrality was now publicly arraigned by the Jacobins, concluded, that it would be practicable to rouse up the people to oppose their government. He was continually surrounded with the anti-federal faction, and as

they were desirous of nothing so much as war, they encouraged him to proceed, and cherished him in the opinion, that the people would decide in his favour. By this intoxication of mind, he was so blinded to the unbending firmness of character which distinguished the President, that he persisted to disregard his decisions, and continued to make a constant appeal to the passions and misguided prejudices of the people. In the collective diplomacy of the world there cannot be found any example of audacity and insolent outrage upon a government, to be compared to that displayed in the correspondence of Genet with the executive. But the Frenchman wanted penetration, and above all wanted knowledge of America. He too hastily drew conclusions respecting this country from what he had left behind him in France. Insurrection was not here so perfectly reduced to a system—the scheme of disorganization was not yet sufficiently organized as it had been in Paris—America had not yet acquired the use of the tocsin—the materials for revolution, indeed, were but too abundant in the country, but they were scattered abroad, here and there, and no common rallying point existed, at which to collect them together. They had not yet any affiliating societies to bring them in close contact with each other—no jacobin clubs to drill, to exercise, and to manage the people, or if they were found refractory, to murder them. This deficiency the faction deeply deplored, and resolved as soon as possible to supply it. Fortunately for the United States, it was not till it became too late to answer the purpose of a jacobin revolution

in America, that the French ambassador and the faction hit upon, and that the anti-federalists joined them in adopting and reducing to practice, an expedient which, for a time, promised to answer all their wishes. They did not think it prudent to give to the faction in America and their assemblages, the epithet which things of the same kind bore in France; but under the less alarming name of Democrats they designated the Jacobins of the Union; while the *caucuses* which rose up in all parts as suddenly and numerously as mushrooms in a rainy night, were essentially and in effect but so many jacobin clubs, fraught with all the same evils, constructed upon the same plan, and operating by the very same means, and to the same ends, as their great parent and prototype society, of which Mr. Jefferson had been a member, and which occasionally met at his house in Paris, and of whose plans and principles he still continued to be the friend and advocate.

No time was lost to supply the deficiency which the faction so much lamented. DEMOCRATIC CLUBS were formed. The mother club, to which the glory (such as it is) belongs, of founding the sects in America, met at Philadelphia about six weeks after Genet's arrival, during which time there was public evidence of his having distributed twenty-five thousand louis d'ors to be expended in promoting the influence of France, in disseminating French principles, in proselytizing our citizens to jacobinism, and in reasoning with the people, according to the new French style, upon the misbehaviour of their executive in not joining France in the war against Great Britain. The qualities and characters

of the promoters and members of these clubs were men of such a cast as may be conjectured from the principles and tenets they since maintained and acted upon. All the world over, that sect, whether denominated Jacobins, Democrats, Reformers or Revolutionists, have been the same. The heads of the mother club itself, though it may be supposed to have absorbed the most respectable men of the faction, were persons of very little estimation either as private men or public characters. Of the small number of them who were men of property, hardly one owed his possessions to the laudable modes of industry and accumulation—the rest, as in all cases of the kind, were needy, discontented men, too indolent and prone to enjoyment to raise themselves by laudable means, and too full of low perverted ambition to be either honest in their principles, or contented with their circumstances. The effects of the clubs upon the public mind became in a very short time perceptible; for, in the course of a few months, the most violent enmity was excited against the general government—its measures were openly reprobated by those societies in their resolutions, and by the whole tribe of democratic paragraphists in the newspapers. Mr. Genet continued to put his own construction upon the treaties between the two nations, and persevered in acting up to that construction, in defiance of the positive declarations and orders of government. To the everlasting infamy of the party opposed to the administration, they threw every thing American out of their bosoms, and made the interests of France, and the views of usurpation of the French rulers, their whole care, and the sole object of their solici-

tude and exertion, and would, for the jacobin club of Paris, have crushed, if they could, their Washington and the venerable band of patriots to whom they owed that independence of which they were ever boasting, and which they had so shamefully abused. Steady to the detestable cause they had espoused, and faithful to the founder and objects of the societies, they have continued even to the moment this is writing, the resolute champions of all the encroachments of France, and the defamers of the Federal Government. But, to let Monsieur Genet speak for himself:

"Every obstruction," says he in a letter to the executive, "by the government of the United "States to the arming of French vessels, must be "an attempt on the rights of man, upon which re- "pose the independence and laws of the United "States; a violation of the ties which unite France "and America; and even a manifest contradiction of "the system of neutrality of the President; for, in "fact, if our merchant vessels or others, are not allow- "ed to arm themselves, when the French alone are "resisting the league of tyrants against the liberty "of the people, they will be exposed to inevitable "ruin in going out of the ports of the United States, "which is certainly *not the intention of the people of* "*America*. THEIR FRATERNAL VOICE has re- "sounded from every quarter around me, and their "accents are not equivocal; THEY are as pure as "the hearts by whom they are expressed, and the "more they have touched my sensibility, the more "they must interest the nation I represent in

"the happiness of America, the more I wish, Sir, "that the federal government should observe as far "as in their power, the public engagements con-"tracted by both nations; and that by this conduct, "they will give at least to the world, the example of "a true neutrality, which does not consist in *the cow-"ardly abandonment of their friends* in the moment "when danger menaces them, but in adhering strict-"ly, if they can do no better, to the obligations "they have contracted with them."

About the same time an incident occurred, which called forth the insolence of this man in a still more extravagant and unpardonable manner. Two men, citizens of the United States, were taken up by the civil magistracy and committed to prison for having, in direct violation of the laws, gone out cruising under the authority of Mr. Genet, in the service and under the flag of France. As soon as the intelligence of their arrest and imprisonment reached Mr. Genet, he demanded their release in the following saucy and audacious terms.

"I have this moment been informed that two "officers in the service of the Republic of France, "citizens Gideon Henfield and John Singletary, "have been arrested on board the privateer of "the French Republic, 'The Citizen Genet,' and "conducted to prison. The crime laid to their "charge—the crime which the mind cannot con-"ceive, and which my pen almost refuses to state—"is the service of France, and defending with her "children the common glorious cause of liberty.

"Being ignorant of any law or treaty which de-
"prives Americans of this privilege, and authorises
"officers of police arbitrarily to take mariners in the
"service of France from on board their vessels, I
"call upon your intervention, Sir, and that of the
"President of the United States, in order to obtain
"the immediate releasement of the above-mention-
"ed officers, who have acquired by the sentiments
"animating them, and by the act of their engage-
"ment, anterior to every act to the contrary, the
"right of French citizens, if they have lost those
"of American citizens."

This insolent and offensive letter, and all others of the kind, had no power to irritate the resolute but placable soul of Washington. Determined to guard the dignity of his government, and not to let his country be insulted in the person of its chief magistrate, he never suffered himself to be betrayed into the use of an intemperate expression. His firm resistance to the demands of Genet was unaccompanied by the slightest mark of resentment, or even unusual warmth.

But Genet was blameless when compared with his American partisans, the anti-federalists and the democratic, or in other words, the jacobin societies who, in every controversy between him and the executive of their country, never failed actively, openly, and with the whole weight and influence of their powerful party, to adopt his principles, to defend his insolence, and to enforce his demands. With equal zeal they attacked their own chief executive magistrate, reprobated his conduct with

the most audacious asperity, accused him of withholding privileges to which France was entitled by the most solemn engagements—impeached him of a desire to join the coalesced despots of Europe in their crusade against liberty, and of giving the French Republic such cause for provocation, that nothing but her well known forbearance and moderation could restrain her from declaring war against the United States. They earnestly besought M. Genet not to abate his wonted zeal, or relax in his efforts, but resolutely to maintain and enforce the just rights of his country; and they assured him that in the affection of the American people he (*a French minister!*) should find a firm and certain support against Washington and the American government.

Elated with the most sanguine hopes, bloated with vanity, inflamed with an inordinate animosity to the executive and federal government, and supported by a numerous, powerful and profligate party, M. Genet gave a loose to his insolence, abandoned all moderation, and, setting no bounds to his outrages upon the government, persisted in acting upon his own will in contradiction to the executive, till at last utterly deserted by his prudence, he committed an act of rashness which roused the sleeping indignation of the President, and was ultimately the cause of his own fall from power. This event is worthy of particular relation, not only as it makes a part of the train of events to be now recorded, but as it marks the folly and arrogance of the man, and the contempt and disrespect in which he must have held the executive.

Nor is it in these lights only that it is deserving of commemoration, but because in all likelihood it contributed to save the country from a revolution, for which it was as ripe as France had been before the murder of the King. Posterity will with difficulty believe the prostituted state to which Genet and his satellites, the democratic societies, had brought the public feeling. By a variety of those artifices which familiarize the heart to cruelty, they had inured the multitude to the contemplation of bloodshed, and to habitual ferocity. At a dinner at Philadelphia, at which governor Mifflin and his friend Dallas were present, a roasted pig was introduced, as the representative of the unfortunate Louis the sixteenth. It was the joyful celebration of the anniversary of his murder. The head being severed from the body, was carried round to each of the savages at table, who after putting on the liberty cap, pronounced the word "Tyrant!" and gave the head a chop with his knife.

It is attested upon authority which can neither be doubted, nor denied, that an immense majority of the Americans execrated those diabolical demonstrations of a sanguinary spirit, and that above two-thirds of the democrats who acted so were foreigners, imported into the United States since the war. Whoever they were, they deserve eternal execration for having done their utmost to poison the minds of the people and to familiarize them to insurrection and bloodshed.

Meantime Genet was not idle in other respects, or forgetful of other objects. He enlisted and enabb-

died a troop of horse in Philadelphia, which, like Bonaparte's legion of honour, surrounded his person. Those were Frenchmen who were prepared and disciplined to act against the government, whenever occasion should offer. Under the protection of this band, he and his adherents grew more bold; threw off all reserve, and endeavoured to excite the people to rebellion by every means in their power. The distant clubs followed the example, and in many instances bettered the instruction. By these means this mischievous faction grew up into formidable strength and insolence, and as they grew formidable and insolent, the honest part of the community grew more timid and proportionably declined in strength, till at last it so fell out that in this land of liberty, not one man dared to venture an opinion hostile to the cut-throat rulers of France. The most savage of their acts were extolled. In America as well as in France, the most atrocious villanies were maintained to be patriotic acts. Robbery was held to be moral and correct justice; murder was maintained to be laudable; and those most execrable of all crimes, treason and rebellion, were dignified with the name of national justice, because jacobinized France gave the fashion to the morals and opinions of this country, and fidelity to her, under her new rulers, was best asserted by treason to every other country in the world. The good were intimidated—the jacobins were in the high road to the accomplishment of their projects, and all the horrors of a revolution stared the country in the face, when the cure came from the same hand with the distemper, and the vul-

gar madness of the French minister put an end to his hopes, and frustrated all the schemes of ruin planned by him and the faction. Silly and saucy by nature, like a true Frenchman, Genet became so intoxicated with the stupid wicked flattery of his American creatures, that he thought he might set the government at defiance and call upon the people to support him. But, no sooner had he in undisguised terms, declared his intention to appeal from the President to the people, than he was taught, and they who supported him were also taught to know that they had overreached themselves, and estimated their powers too highly.

A British merchant vessel, taken by a French frigate, was brought into the Delaware. She carried two guns only, but after being taken, was completely fitted out at Philadelphia as a French privateer. The agents of Genet had pierced her anew, given her fourteen large guns, and six swivels, and manned her with a crew of one hundred and twenty men, of whom the far greater part were Americans, or British subjects, with certificates of American nativity, so easily procured in Philadelphia and New-York. Her British name of "The Little Sarah," was changed to the French one of "*Le Petit Democrat*," and she was prepared and just ready to sail upon a cruise. The intelligence of such an affair would necessarily have reached every one of consequence, particularly the heads of departments in government, but contrary to what ought to have been expected, Mr. Jefferson, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and to whose department it be-

longed, was totally ignorant of it, and would have remained so "to the crack of doom," if Mr. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, had not had better luck, or more vigilance, and, getting information of it, communicated it to the Secretary of State and the Secretary at War. In consequence of this information, instructions were sent to Governor Mifflin, to order an examination into the fact; and the warden of the port, in pursuance of a direction to inquire into the state of the vessel, reported that she was to sail the next day, in the condition already stated.

Governor Mifflin soon perceived that, in obedience to the instructions of the executive relative to the fitting out of armed vessels in the ports of the United States, he was bound to seize the privateer, and as he was deeply engaged in the interests of the French minister, he felt himself in a dilemma in which it was difficult for him to decide upon the conduct he could with credit and safety pursue. Instead of doing his duty with the promptitude and decision of a guiltless heart, and seizing the vessel as he ought to have done, he found it expedient to temporise, and sent his friend Mr. secretary Dallas to Genet, to implore his mercy, to prevail upon him by every persuasive, to save government from the employment of force, and to detain the vessel in port, until the President should arrive from Mount Vernon, whither he had gone upon very urgent private business. It will readily be believed, that in delivering this message, Mr. Dallas made use of language and manners as conciliatory and humble as possible; but

M. Genet on hearing it burst forth into the most extravagant rage, and in violent invectives against the measure, in provoking terms, and in language of the most opprobious kind, complained of the ill usage he received from some of THE OFFICERS OF THE GOVERNMENT. He CONTRASTED their conduct with the violent love which the American PEOPLE at large expressed for the French nation, and ascribed the conduct of the executive entirely to his hatred to the cause of France and liberty. He said with particular emphasis, that the President was not the sovereign of the country; that the powers of peace and war being lodged in Congress, it belonged to that body alone to decide on questions which might lead to peace or war, and, therefore, that the President ought to have assembled the national legislature, before he ventured to issue his Proclamation of Neutrality, or by his instructions to the State Governors, to exclude France from the enjoyment of those rights which she claimed under the treaty of commerce. He said that the executive construction of the treaty was neither just nor obligatory; and he would make no engagement that might be construed into a relinquishment of rights which his constituents deemed indispensable. He spoke of publishing his correspondence with the officers of government, and along with it, a narrative of his proceedings, and said, that although the existing causes would warrant an abrupt departure from the country, his regard for the people of America would induce him to remain, amidst the insults and disgusts that he daily suffered, in his official character, from the public officers, un-

til the meeting of Congress; and if that body should agree in the opinions, and support the measures of the President, he would certainly withdraw and leave the dispute to be adjusted by the two nations themselves. Mr. Dallas then called him back to the subject he came upon, when Genet peremptorily refused to enter into any arrangements for suspending the departure of the privateer, and furiously cautioned him against any attempt to seize her, as she belonged to the French Republic, and would not fail in defence of the honour of the flag, to repel force by force.

Mifflin finding himself baffled in his temporising scheme, and at the same time aware that if the privateer should sail without his taking measures to prevent her, his responsibility would be of a very serious kind, dispatched a body of troops to take possession of her, and in the mean time gave information to the officers of government of what had passed between Mr. Dallas and Genet. Mr. Jefferson, then the bosom friend of Genet, thought that he himself could effect what Dallas had failed to accomplish. He too, like Mifflin, was one of that set of men who thought that with France every thing should be done by humiliation—with Great Britain by menace and force. He waited on the Frenchman—informed him that the President was then at Mount Vernon—that if the vessel should be permitted to sail during his absence, he would call them all to a strict and severe account for it; that he wished to put matters on the best footing they would admit of, and therefore he entreated Mr.

Genet to promise on his word of honour, that the privateer should not leave the port till the arrival of the President. Genet was as enraged with his friend Jefferson as he had been before with his friend Dallas, and expressed himself in language not less intemperate, respecting the executive. He peremptorily refused to give the pledge Mr. Jefferson required, or to stop the sailing of the vessel; and he desired that no attempt might be made to take possession of her by force, as the crew were prepared for resistance. Growing cooler, however, he declared that *La Petite Democrate* was not ready to sail immediately—that she should only change her birth, and fall a little way down the river that day, and he repeated his assurance that she was not yet ready to sail, with a solemnity and an air of truth by which Mr. Jefferson affected to be completely convinced that the vessel would not be sent out of the river till the President's determination respecting her should be understood. Mr. Jefferson communicated to Governor Mifflin the persuasion he felt on his part of Genet's intentions to let the privateer await the decision of the executive, and then called upon the heads of departments for their advice what further course to pursue during the absence of Washington. On this occasion even Mifflin and Jefferson were constrained to bear testimony to the intemperate conduct of Genet, and both concurred in stating that Mr. Dallas in reporting to each of them separately the conversation that had passed between him and Genet, had expressly said that GENET THREATENED TO APPEAL FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE PEOPLE.

Indignant at the thoughts of their government and great Chief Magistrate being thus daringly braved and insulted in the very metropolis of the nation, and in the heart of the seat of government, Secretary Hamilton and the Secretary of the War Department proposed that measures should be instantly taken for placing a battery of artillery on Mud Island, together with a party of militia for the purpose of preventing by force of arms La Petite Democrate from leaving the port till the pleasure of the President should be known. But to this Jefferson objected, and the measure was dropt. The consequence was, that the vessel sailed before the power of government was interposed—not before it could have been; for it might and it would have been effectually interposed had it not been for the error or the connivance of the Secretary of State.

Every week brought to view some new encroachment on the rights of the American government—some new violation of the laws on the part of the French. One of these deserves to be specially recorded.

A British schooner captured by a French privateer was, on being brought into the port of Boston, claimed by the owner. Legal process was issued, and the marshal took possession of her to await the decision upon her capture. From the marshal's possession and authority she was rescued by a party detached from a frigate then lying in the port, and acting under the authority of the French Consul Duplaine, who in defiance of and contradiction to the determination of the American government, avowed his purpose to take cognizance

of the case. To this imprudent act of defiance and usurpation the President could not submit. He therefore revoked the exequatur granted to Duplaine and forbid him to exercise any further the consular functions. On this simple statement of facts it will with difficulty be believed that the faction censured the conduct of the President as a violation of the constitution, and a purposed outrage upon France and liberty.—Yet so it really was.

As soon as Washington arrived at Philadelphia he desired a meeting of the Cabinet ministers to be called at his house next morning at nine o'clock, and he dispatched a messenger to Mr. Jefferson to request his immediate presence, but that gentleman had retired in a state of indisposition, as was alleged, to his country seat. Upon being informed of this the President immediately wrote to him. "What is to be done in the case of the Little Sarah "now at Chester? Is the Minister of the French "Republic to set the acts of this government at de- "fiance *with impunity*, and then threaten the execu- "tive with an appeal to the people? What must "the world think of such conduct, and of the go- "vernment of the United States in submitting to it? "These are serious questions—circumstances press "for decision; and as you have had time to con- "sider them, (upon me they come unexpectedly,) I "wish to know your opinion upon them, even before "to morrow, for the vessel may then be gone."

What was left for the Secretary to do, but to tell the President what has been already related? He wrote to Washington, repeating the assurances which he had received from Genet. The conse-

quence was a suspension of coercive measures. Next day the Cabinet Council determined to retain in port all such privateers as had been equipped within the United States by any of the belligerents. This determination was communicated to Mr. Genet, who in contempt of it directly ordered *La Petite Democrate* to proceed upon her cruise.

Posterity will be astonished to think that after such gross, such unexampled insults being offered to the country by the French envoy, after seeing their Chief Magistrate in the person of Washington, the saviour of their country, thus braved and treated with menace and insolent defiance, there could exist a body of Americans base enough to support the person who offered them such an outrage, and to take a zealous part with him against their executive? Yet such men there were. The faction, anti-federal, democratic, jacobin and French united in condemning administration, openly ascribed the conduct of the executive to a settled hostility to France and liberty,* to a tame subserviency to British policy, and a desire to engage America in the war by provoking France, in order to extirpate republican principles.

While the affair about *La Petite Democrate* was on the carpet, Genet, adverting to the point whether free bottoms made free goods, wrote a letter (9th July) demanding an immediate and positive answer to the question, "What measures the President had taken, or would take, to cause the

* At this day the association of France with liberty has a whimsical sound.

"American flag to be respected?" Not receiving an immediate answer, Genet, about the end of the same month, wrote another letter to the Secretary of State on the same subject, but in terms still more insolent and extraordinary.—"Your political "rights," said he, "are counted for nothing. In "vain do the principles of neutrality establish that "friendly vessels make friendly goods.—In vain "does the President of the United States endeavour "by his proclamation, to reclaim the observance "of this maxim. In vain does the desire of pre- "serving peace lead to sacrifice the interests of "France to that of the moment. In vain does the "THIRST OF RICHES PREPONDERATE OVER HO- "NOUR IN THE POLITICAL BALANCE OF AME- "RICA. All this management, all this condescen- "sion, all this humility, end in nothing;—our ene- "mies laugh at it; and *the French*, too confident; "*are punished for having believed that the Ame-* "*rican nation had a flag, that they had some respect* "*for their laws, some conviction of their strength,* "*and entertained some sentiment of their dignity.* "It is not possible for me, Sir, to paint to you all "my sensibility at this scandal which tends to the "diminution of your commerce, to the oppression of "ours, and to the debasement and vilification "of Republics. It is for the Americans to make "known their generous indignation at this outrage; "and I must confine myself to demand of you a "second time to inform me of the measures which "you have taken in order to obtain restitution of "the property plundered from my fellow-citizens, "under the protection of your flag. It is from

"our government they have learned that Americans "were our allies, that the American nation was "sovereign, and that they knew how to make them-"selves respected. It is then under the very same "sanction of the French nation that they have "confided their property and persons to the safe-"guard of the American flag, and to her they sub-"mit the care of causing those rights to be re-"spected. But if our fellow-citizens have been de-"ceived; if you are not in a condition to maintain "the sovereignty of your people, speak; we have "guarantied it when slaves; we shall be able to "render it formidable, having become freemen."

The Secretary of State, this very Mr. Jefferson who has since, because it is the opinion of Napoleon, adopted and influenced his country to act upon the new-fangled French doctrine that "free vessels "make free goods," did then in an answer to the first of these letters of Genet maintain and strenuously argue in defence of the opposite principle, and insist, that "BY THE LAW OF NATIONS THE "GOODS OF AN ENEMY FOUND IN THE VESSELS "OF A FRIEND ARE LAWFUL PRIZE." The insults of the second letter were passed over in silence.

The President now perceived that the moderation and good humour with which the intemperate conduct and language of Genet had been overlooked, served only to encourage that minister to commit greater and more frequent outrages. He foresaw that if those abuses of his lenity were not put an end to speedily, the most incalculable evils might be the consequence. He was aware that the very basis

of government was the veneration and the respect of the people for it, and that where those do not exist, and still more where contempt is substituted in their place, every thing belonging to the commonwealth is insecure; and he was convinced that the conduct of the French Minister openly supported as it was by the democratic faction had a direct tendency to produce that mischievous effect, the most important rights of sovereignty having been usurped and the exercise of them persisted in by that presumptuous foreigner, while the people stretched out their arms to cherish and support him. All this Washington clearly perceived, and was convinced that such an intolerable state of things could be terminated only by the removal of Genet, or by the American Republic submitting to become the base and servile instrument of France. With mortification and sorrow, as well as disgust, he saw, too, that while the executive was thus openly insulted and contemned, the best members of administration were scurrilously attacked and traduced in all those vile vehicles of falsehood and calumny, the prints of the faction, and were publicly impeached of violating the national faith, of being the partisans of monarchy, the servile agents of British policy, and the enemies of liberty and France.

It has rarely fallen to the lot of man to encounter such complicated dangers as those which beset the administration of Washington. It seems as if he had been designed by Providence and sent into the world for the express purpose of saving his country from the very worst kind of foreign foes and domestic traitors. While he was exerting his

vast powers and relinquishing the repose necessary to his age, merely to serve his country and save it from the unexampled perils that surrounded it, was a large portion of his fellow-citizens leagued with the robbers and regicides of France to destroy him. The press corrupted and bought over to the views of France, poured forth its calumnies upon him, because he would not agree to give up the country bound hand and foot into the hands of the enemy. Genet had at an early period of his diplomatic administration planned and set on foot two military expeditions to be carried on from the territories of the United States against the dominions of Spain, had meditated an invasion of the dominions of Britain also from the northern and eastern states, and had actually raised troops in the heart of the country for that purpose. The first of those armaments was to go against the Floridas, the second against Louisiana, the last against Canada. The detail and whole of the plans even to the minutest particular had been arranged; and the pay, rations, clothing, and even the proportions of plunder and division of property of the conquered lands were settled. Any one of common intelligence and candid heart who thinks upon this subject with a view to the subsequent state of things in Europe up to the day of writing this, will be able to form a conclusion what the state of America would at this day be, if Washington had been baffled and Genet and his American faction had carried their point against him. Being determined to maintain a clear and resolute neutrality, and to preserve the country

in that station in which the various existing treaties had placed it, he issued a circular letter "Enjoining the proper officers to have a vigilant eye upon "whatever might be passing within the ports, harbours, creeks, inlets, and waters of their respective districts, of a nature to contravene the "law of neutrality, and upon discovery of any thing "of the kind to give immediate notice to the Governor of the State."—This the faction calumniated as an infraction "of our treaties and an ungrateful attempt to force the United States into a "war with France." On this pipe of calumny they played in order to blind and misguide the public, though they had before their eyes an instance of the President's inflexible and equal observance of neutrality in the case of a British vessel, of a much stronger kind than any that had occurred in respect to French vessels. The British ship Jane, an armed merchantman, had, while in an American port, barely replaced four gun carriages, which were old and unfit for further use, with four new ones, and had cut two new port holes, but without taking on board any additional guns for them. The British Consul requested that these alterations might be allowed, and met a peremptory refusal. Genet alleged that she was a privateer.—The Governor was directed to attend to her, and if he found her augmenting her force, and about to depart, to cause her to be stopped; and directions were immediately given that she should be restored precisely to the condition in which she was when she entered the river, which was immediately complied with. The

faction never found any thing wrong in this rigid execution of the law of neutrality, because the object of it was British; and Governor Mifflin and Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Dallas, who were so anxiously and actively zealous to prevent the employment of force in the case of the French vessel *La Petite Democrate*, were ready to send troops and erect a battery at Mud Island to stop the Jane, if she had attempted to sail with her two new port holes, and her four new gun carriages.

CHAPTER III.

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WASHINGTON was not to be moved from his purpose, but pertinaciously adhered to the system he had laid down, and dispatched a letter to Paris desiring the immediate recal of Genet, and accompanied his demand with the letters of Genet and

all the necessary documents to establish the grounds on which he desired that minister's recal. A more able performance is not to be found in the whole circle of modern diplomacy. It contained a clear and candid statement of facts, and an ample justification of the measures of the executive, and it concluded with an assurance that, after her own independence and self-government, there was nothing America more sincerely wished than perpetual friendship with France. Nothing could exceed the mortification of Genet on finding himself likely to be recalled, but the folly and intemperance of his language on the occasion. He publicly attacked the President, set him at defiance, charged him with going beyond the limits of his constitutional authority, and spoke of an impeachment of him before Congress as "An "act of justice which the American people, which "the French people, which all free people were in- "terested to reclaim." Nor did he confine his abuse to the President, or to those gentlemen who had been painted to him so often as monarchists, aristocrats, and partisans of England. In his fury he attacked his own and his country's most zealous partisans, and fell with great bitterness upon Mr. Secretary Jefferson himself, whom he had been induced to consider as his personal friend, and who had, he said, "initiated him into mysteries which "had inflamed his hatred against all those who as- "pire to an absolute power."

Genet, who was the key-stone of the jacobin arch, being taken away, it was expected that the whole of the affiliated societies would fall to the

ground. But as his successor trod exactly in his steps, the democratic clubs soon turned from Genet and transferred their homage to the other. And for that other the faction were still as ready as they had been for his predecessor to insult and traduce their chief magistrate. The vile and venal prints of the faction poured forth their compliments upon France and its minister, and their invectives upon Washington and his supporters, with unabated rancour and undiminished industry and force. Washington rarely expressed even to his most intimate friends, or indeed seemed to feel any pain at the rudeness and ingratitude of those traitors.—Whatever he did feel was more for the pernicious effects of such things upon the country, than for the calumnies upon himself. The only notice he is known to have taken of them, was in a private letter to his friend General Lee, then Governor of Virginia, in the following words:—

"That there are in this, as in all other countries, "discontented characters I well know, as also that "these characters are actuated by very different "views. Some good, from an opinion that the "measures of the general government are impure— "some bad, and (if I might be allowed to use so "harsh an expression) diabolical, in as much as "they are not only meant to impede the measures "of government generally, but more especially to "destroy the confidence which it is necessary the "people should place (until they have unequivocal "proof of demerit) in their servants: for in this light "I consider myself whilst I am an occupant of "office: and if they were to go further and call

"me their slave during this period, I would not "dispute the point with them.—But in what will this "abuse terminate?—

"For the result as it respects myself I care not. "I have a consolation within me of which no earthly "efforts can deprive me; and that is, that neither "ambitious nor interested motives have influenced "my conduct. The arrow of malevolence, there- "fore, however barbed and pointed, can never "reach my most valuable part; though, whilst I "am up as a mark, they will be continually aimed "at me. THE PUBLICATIONS IN FRENEAU'S "AND BACHE'S PAPERS ARE OUTRAGES ON "COMMON DECENCY; and they progress in that "style, in proportion as their pieces are treated with "contempt, and passed over in silence by those "against whom they are directed. Their tendency, "however, is too obvious to be mistaken by men "of cool and dispassionate minds—and in my opi- "nion, ought to alarm them, because it is difficult "to prescribe bounds to their effect." *

Genet being now out of office continued to excite discontents against the executive. In answer to an address from the Jacobins of New-York he said, "There is reason to fear that you (the American

* Freneau's paper was all that time under the particular patronage and direction of Mr. Jefferson. His services to the other, and the continuation of them to the present possessor, is too well known to leave a doubt respecting his treachery to Washington.

"people) are involved in the general conspiracy of "tyrants against liberty.—They never will—they "never can forgive you for having been the first to "proclaim the Rights of Man. But you will force "them to respect you, by pursuing with firmness "the only path which is consistent with your na- "tional honour and dignity.

"The cause of France is the cause of all man- "kind, and no nation is more deeply interested "than you are in its success—whatever fate awaits "her you are ultimately to share.

"And if France under a despotic yoke has been "able so successfully to assert *your rights, they* "*can never again be endangered while she is at li-* "*berty to exert in your support that powerful arm* "*which now defies the combined efforts of a whole* "*world.*"

Here we have a summary of the policy of France, as it has since been exhibited in her conduct to the nations of Europe.—Genet inflames the people against their lawful government, and renders their chief magistrate suspected: he urges them not to endure the tyranny of their rulers, he invites them to force their government to respect them.—He tells them that France has made common cause with them, and that their rights can never again (alluding to their struggle with Great Britain) be endangered *while she is at liberty to exert in* their support against their government that arm which defies the world. In other words, rise up in rebellion against your government, (said he,) and we, the French nation, will send in an army to settle your affairs,

and give you a proper constitution. This has been the scheme of France in the whole of her destructive progress through Europe. It is obvious that this was not only what the French desired, but what the jacobin faction in America industriously laboured and looked for. The country may estimate from this alone how much they owed to Washington and the Federal government, who shielded it from these horrible designs; and determine what the nature of their obligations are to Mr. Jefferson and his faction of all sorts, whether French Jacobins, or American Jacobins, United Irishmen, Democrats, or Anti-federalists—or whatever other name they may go by; the shadings between all those being so blended down and mingled into each other that it is hard to draw the line between them, or to determine where the one begins or the other ends. Had they succeeded, and succeed they must have done if any other man but Washington had been at the head of affairs, this country would long before the time of writing this, have been as much as Holland, Switzerland, or Genoa, a province, or a string of prefectures belonging to France.

The mass of the people, however, now began to be stung with a keen sense of the injurious treatment their executive had received. The Federalists observed, and most poignantly felt the disgrace and degradation heaped upon their country, and were alarmed at the dangerous consequences of having their government dictated to and coerced in their measures by an insolent foreign minister—he, too,

the minister of a nation which had rendered its character not very estimable by a series of oppressive and sanguinary excesses. They therefore endeavoured to erect, through the medium of an honest press, a counterpoise to the machinery of the French and American jacobin agents and editors, to modify the public opinion, and to keep it within the bounds of moderation and correctness. The hearts of the Americans in general still glowed with love and veneration for Washington, and even some of those who were in opposition to the general measures of his administration, yet retained a strong personal attachment to himself. As soon, therefore, as it was apparent that Genet had threatened to appeal to the people against their beloved chief magistrate, they publicly declared their indignation. They assembled in their districts in every part of the union, to express their sentiments. The French faction put forth all their strength and all their artifice to oppose this manifestation of the general feeling. The contest was violent, but opinion almost every where ran entirely in favour of Washington and his system of neutrality. No doubt the arrogance of Genet, the insults which he offered to the President, and the jealousy of the Americans respecting the character of their revered soldier and statesman, promoted in a great degree this expression of the public sentiment.

While the executive was thus impeded and braved, and its salutary plans of policy were endangered, by the machinations of the French faction on the one hand, its situation was rendered on the other

still more perplexing by the conduct of Great Britain and Spain, whose measures furnished the opposers of neutrality with arguments of great effect upon the passions if not upon the reason of the people.

The rulers of France finding that the resources derived from their colonial produce were rendered precarious, and at all events were greatly diminished by the activity of the English cruisers, resolved to try the experiment of securing their colonial returns under a neutral flag, and for this end as well as to persuade the Americans of their friendship and partiality to them, offered to make a treaty with the United States which should open all the colonial ports of France to neutrals, and to abolish every commercial distinction between the two countries. The Americans, and particularly the merchants, who, rendered credulous by avarice, were too much overjoyed at this fortunate turn in their affairs, to allow themselves time to consider it in all its bearings, with overweening eagerness darted at the bait which was thrown out to them, and ascribed this goodness of France to the liberality which they, now more than ever, concluded to be inseparable from genuine freedom. As if they had lost all recollection of their own private feelings, they set it down as an indisputable postulate that in the hearts of a people possessed of liberty, avarice could not exist; that commercial monopoly vanished at the very word republic, as spectres are supposed by the superstitious to melt away before the light at the crowing of the cock, and that with the progress of the French republican arms, a new torrent of peace, felicity and toleration was to burst upon the world. But

the cabinet of Great Britain, which saw deeper into the designs of the French, and which had always considered the intercepting of the colonial produce on its way to the ports of France as one of its most, if not its only, effectual means of successful warfare with that country, resolved to defeat the stratagem, to the real design of which, as well as to the mischiefs with which it was fraught to Great Britain, the cupidity of the American merchants rendered them insensible, and issued orders to the British cruisers to stop French goods in whatever bottoms they might be found. In consequence of this, immense captures were made, and the irritation of the American merchants was proportioned not only to the loss they had sustained by the captures, but to the grievous and heavy disappointment they underwent in being all at once despoiled of their new-born hopes. And as in the natural operations of their internal traffic they had gradually imparted to the agricultural part of the community, a considerable share of their commercial disposition, they now communicated to them an equal share of their resentments. Notwithstanding that their admired statesman, Mr. Jefferson, had given the sanction of his opinion to the principle* laid down and acted upon by the British government, viz. "that the goods of an enemy "might be lawfully captured in the vessel of a "friend," the faction laid hold of these captures to add fresh fuel to the flame they had already raised against Great Britain in favour of France, and even Mr. Jefferson himself was suspected (and his subse-

* See page 106.

quent conduct countenances the suspicion) of fomenting the general indignation and actively condemning the conduct of the British. Whatever grounds neutrals had for complaining on the principle alluded to, their irritation was greatly augmented by a measure of the British cabinet which now occurred. A scarcity, little short of famine prevailed in France, and as the war was in fact against the usurped government of that country, with which it was the interest of Great Britain to make the people discontented, the prospect of using that circumstance as an instrument of policy suggested to the cabinet of St. James's the expediency of doing every thing to increase the public distress by cutting off supplies from without. In consequence of this, as well as because at the same time a great scarcity prevailed also in Great Britain, orders were issued to the British cruisers to stop all vessels loaded wholly or in part with flour, corn or meal bound to France, and to bring them in, not intentionally for confiscation, but for sale at a *bona fide* real value.

This measure was censured on a two-fold account. First, as an unwarrantable infraction on the rights of neutrals. Secondly, as an act of inhumanity, in which last censure the natural benevolence of a considerable portion of the people of England induced them to concur, forgetting that they would not blame the very same procedure in the case of a town besieged, because it would be conformable to custom. The American government remonstrated against this invasion of neutral rights, which they in a most serious and earnest manner, pronounced to be unwarrantable; and with great strength of reasoning oppugned the attempt to

apply to the starving of a whole agricultural nation, the principles and practice which ought only to go to the blockading of particular fortresses, towns or seaports. Here the nation had a proof of the impartial disposition of the executive. Indeed, if the British government or its agents had been disposed to cavil like the French on false pretences, they had in this affair, as contrasted with others in the case of France, cause to complain of the partiality of the federal government to France.

On the 9th of May, 1793, the National Convention of France passed a decree to this effect:—"*The "French ships of war and privateers shall stop and "bring into the ports of the Republic such NEU- "TRAL VESSELS as are loaded in whole or in "part either with* PROVISIONS BELONGING TO "NEUTRALS and *destined for enemy's ports, or "with merchandise belonging to enemies.*"—On the 23d day of May the Convention declared, in consequence of a remonstrance made on the part of America, "That the vessels of the United States were not "comprised in the regulations of the decree of the 9th "of May." But on the 28th of the same month the decree of the 23d was repealed, and on the 1st of July it was re-established; but on the 27th of July it was again repealed, thereby leaving the original decree of the 9th of May in full force and effect against the vessels of the United States. It might be expected that the *honest* democracy of America would have kindled and burst forth into a blaze at this deliberate wrong, and it would have been so if all their local patriotism had not been

extinguished by their zeal in the doctrine of jacobinism, and in the cause of its parent France. But though it bore hard upon America, the wrong was in their opinions perfectly right, because it was the wrong of the jacobin government of France. Nobody heard of it, nobody knew of it, because nobody seemed to think it his interest to mark it out to the public.—The sovereign multitude were graciously pleased to overlook that trivial injury from their friend and ally, the Republic of France.

A multitude of circumstances arose, too, at this period which were grasped at with avidity by the factious devotees and hirelings of France to excite stronger hatreds against Great Britain and to urge the country into a war with that nation. In the exercise of the right* which the British have long considered as legalized by custom and justified by necessity, of impressing their own seamen, the Americans were inevitably exposed to be taken, as there existed no visible mark of distinction between them and Britons, either in language, face, person, manners, or appearance. Mistakes naturally occurred. Native Americans therefore were frequently impressed and compelled to serve against the French Republic. The right to impress Americans was disavowed at once by Britain, but the right to impress their own subjects who had migrated and been ad-

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* The great Lord Chatham when in opposition, justifies government in the act of impressing seamen:—He said it had been time immemorial the *consuetuda regni* and as such was a legal right.

mitted as denizens of the United States, was peremptorily and perseveringly maintained. The continuance of the Indian war, and the unreasonable demands of the aboriginal inhabitants respecting the boundary of their territorial possessions was ascribed to the influence of the British in Canada. Though a persuasion prevailed pretty generally that this influence would continue so long as the posts on the south of the lakes should continue to be occupied by British troops; and though it created great injury and uneasiness, and might have been obviated by the observance of common honesty and justice on the part of the respective states whose debts to British creditors yet remained unliquidated, the courts of justice, in some of them, less careful of national justice than indulgent to the prejudices, the passions and the cupidity of individuals, neglected to enforce the recovery of those debts under the stipulations of the treaty, and left to the British government that fair pretext for retaining the posts.

In the conduct of Spain too, then allied with Great Britain against France, the faction found matter instrumental to their views. Genet's plan of attack upon the Spanish territories though stopt from execution, still lived in their minds in full vigour. The American ministers at Madrid could make no impression on the Spanish Cabinet.—The question of limits remained unsettled—the navigation of the Mississippi was still closed against the Americans, and the Creek and Cherokee Indians were supposed to be excited to war against the States by the Spanish government. It had for some time before been

industriously poured into the ears of the people on the western waters, that an opposition of interests existed between them and the inhabitants of the country on this side of the mountains, and that on that account the executive was at least indifferent, if not averse to the opening of the Mississippi to the commerce of the western country. The democratic society of Lexington in Kentucky opened a correspondence with the inhabitants of the western country, for the purpose of uniting them on the subject, and of preparing a remonstrance to the President and Congress. The language of that society was such as might be expected from uninformed turbulence, rendered audacious and secure by remoteness from the arm of authority. They spoke in terms of unequivocal disrespect of the government—talked of addressing the President and Congress in the bold, decent and determined language proper to be used by *injured* freemen to their *servants*. They claimed merit for their moderation in not having already used the means in their power to assert their rights, and without ever averting to any determination which Spain might possibly come to, or the little power or means possessed by the executive to enforce such a requisition, they demanded from government, as if it rested with its will alone, the free navigation of the Mississippi.

Things were in this posture when Congress met in December, 1793. The President's speech was moderate, firm, interesting, and, as usual, dignified. The answer to it demonstrates that in spite of their party animosities, and in spite of the ma-

chinations of the Jacobins and French faction, the affection and veneration of the Houses of Congress, in the far greater part of them, still attended him. "It "is," said the House of Representatives, "to vir- "tues which have commanded long and universal "respect, and services from which have flowed great "and lasting benefit, that the tribute of praise may be "paid without the reproach of flattery, and it is "from the same sources that the fairest anticipations "may be derived in favour of the public happiness." They approved of the proclamation of neutrality, and indicated dispositions to coöperate cordially with the executive. Speaking of the proclamation of neutrality, the Senate declared it to be a measure well timed and wise, manifesting a watchful solicitude for the welfare of the nation, and calculated to promote it.

Those appearances in Congress, however, were no certain indication of the power of parties, and it was not difficult to perceive that there was a description of persons, with Mr. Jefferson at their head, whose present feelings were far from being in correspondence with the addresses of the two houses. The decisions of the cabinet still underwent the wonted obloquy abroad; and the French calumniators and the whole body of opposition followed up the President and his friends, and their measures, with undiminished malice. In the very teeth of the expressed applause and approbation of the legislature and constituted authorities of the land, the same imputations of hostilities to France and liberty, the same *insinuations of an attachment to*

Great Britain and to the tyrants who had conspired against the liberties of mankind, were thrown out against the executive; and when the audacious and unfounded claims of France which had been already deliberately and on full and impartial consideration rejected, were renewed, the same men adhered to that republic and argued for the justice of her demands. It was therefore clear, that the apparent moderation of the partisans of France in Congress towards Washington, had some other ground than integrity and conviction. The fact was, that the insolence and malignant designs of Genet were too manifest to require to be insisted upon or supported, and that the most impudent and hot-headed of his partisans perceived that it would be impolitic and injudicious to attack administration for its resolute opposition to him. They felt that the Frenchman had overacted his part, and that his language and deportment had been too offensive, too humiliating to be endured or defended: besides, Genet was no longer in power.

On the other hand it was well known, that the executive measures which so grievously militated with the views of the French faction, and thereby incurred the censure of the opposition party, were in reality the measures of Washington himself; approved, however, by the members of his cabinet; and could not therefore be openly impeached without entailing on the impeachers the odium, or at least the suspicion of hostility and insult to him, and of censure upon the purity of his personal character, from which it would be very difficult to rescue Mr. Jefferson himself, inasmuch as he was

the person who had explicitly urged the agreements on which those measures were grounded and justified—and indeed urged them with a degree of warmth, zeal, and force, so well feigned as almost to quiet the apprehensions of those who were most suspicious of the sincerity of his intentions. Mr. Jefferson, too, it was well known, was a mortal enemy to any thing which bore the aspect of holding him to responsibility; and he knew that a most frightful responsibility would attach upon him, if in consequence of the points which Genet insisted upon, and his faction so furiously maintained without doors, receiving the sanction of the legislature, a war should ensue. Nor was he without internal suggestions that the conduct of Genet had been greatly disapproved by the new government of France, and that the instructions of the new Ambassador might materially differ from those of the person he was to succeed, and be grounded on a totally different system at home. Reserve therefore was advisable; nor had he any reason to think that hypocrisy very censurable under the influence of which he acted *right while his intentions* were wrong.

Thus far the conduct and disposition of Mr. Jefferson have been investigated and as accurately defined as the materials which remain upon record afford the means of forming a rational judgment upon him—and, so far, he appears to have been the most inveterate enemy of Great Britain, and the most active fomenter of that vindictive spirit which kept alive the antipathies of the new country to the old—antipathies which ought forever to have

been buried in oblivion after the treaty of peace was made. Though such feelings are unfortunately natural enough in savage life, or in vulgar unlettered men, they are scarcely excusable in those of polished habits; and in persons of well informed minds, vested with power and authority, they are highly criminal. Various attempts have been made to account for the existence of dispositions so shocking and so unworthy of a man and a christian, in the person to whom allusion is made. Some ascribe them to the effects of the revolutionary struggles upon his spirits, and those say that the dangers to which, at a certain memorable crisis, Mr. Jefferson felt himself exposed, and from which he thought it prudent to secure himself by a seasonable flight and a temporary concealment, with all the horrors and privations attending them, sunk so deeply into his mind that he cannot to this day entirely disengage himself from the painful sensations which attended that unfortunate achievement.* Others assert that having during the time of his so absconding, written to a Mr. Smyth, then high in office under the British government at New-York, desiring to know upon what terms he might be admitted to make his peace and to come within the British lines, and having received no satisfactory answer, he underwent such a severe stroke of mortification from the disappointment, that he never could forgive the English. It is reasonable, however, to conclude, that though his hostility to Great Britain may in some small degree be owing to both these circumstances, the great cause of it inheres in his own

* The Virginian Hægyra, or flight to Carter's Mountain.

natural disposition and taste, improved by his intercourse with the philosophists, the revolutionists, the deists, jacobins, and illuminati of France. In the instructions of Condorcet, and in his own native goodness of heart, wisdom and magnanimity, may be found very adequate causes for the principles and conduct which have distinguished him ever since the Revolution. Whatever the cause may have been, the effects first appeared obviously on his return from France.

The reader has already been shown the complexion of his political sentiments in almost every circumstance that related to France and Great Britain, and the influence which his feelings with respect to those two countries, had upon his political conduct. Partialities of that extraordinary kind may without guilt be indulged in private, and permitted to influence domestic conduct; but, when admitted into the counsels of a statesman whose conduct is the property of the public, and ought therefore to be regulated by the cool decisions of an unbiassed judgment—not resigned to the dominion of the passions, they become criminal in a high degree, and if suffered to degenerate into an excess hazardous to the commonwealth, amount to a treasonable conspiracy against the interests of his country. That many self-pronounced American patriots, out of the pure love they bear to the doctrines of the new philosophy, have affianced themselves with equal zeal and loyalty to every successive ruler of France [no matter under what distinctive name of office, or particular sect of politicians, whether Democrat, Sansculotte, Jacobin, Consul,

Emperor, King-maker, or King-killer,] is certain: that such men can love America with true patriotism may at least be doubted by the most simple, and will, by every man who knows the human heart, be utterly disbelieved. Charity may perhaps set them down as regarding the interests of their own country, next to those of France—their own private interests of course excepted. The accuracy of this estimate of the patriotism and public virtue of those worthies, will be made to appear more clearly hereafter when the history comes to that disgraceful epoch, the second breaking out of the western insurrection. In the mean time some other transactions demand in respect to their proper order to be laid open.

In the session of Congress of 1793—4, when the enthusiasm of the French Revolution fired every brain and emboldened the Gallic faction in America to utter language and commit acts for which they deserved the most severe and rigorous castigation, the members who had attempted to give, if possible, a preponderance to the commerce of France by unfair discriminations, once more resolved to repeat the experiment, and, though defeated, to return again and again to the charge. In this they had the merit of a threefold purpose; one, to vent their malice against Great Britain by injuring her trade and breaking up the intercourse which subsisted between her and the United Sates; another, to aggrandize France, and give a triumph to her blood-gorged rulers over that dreaded and hated adversary of jacobinism, England: and a third, to provoke Great Britain into a declaration

of war against America, or to betray her into some act that would render a declaration of war against her unavoidable on the part of the United States. This game which has been continually played by the faction, fortunately without success, from the earliest period of the history of this republic up to the ever memorable embargo—that measure which it is not predicting too much to assert, has given almost a deadly blow to the commercial interests of the Union, was all along the offspring of the councils of the Thuilleries committed to the execution of American agents. Hitherto all those evil purposes had been defeated by the good sense and virtue of the Senate. As the faction gained strength within the doors of Congress their hopes of succeeding in those attempts were enlivened. At the opening of the Congress, therefore, they thought that with the aid of bold menaces and attacks from without, they might possibly accomplish their purpose, and resolved at least to try their strength upon it. Mr. Jefferson, who was known to be favourable to the trade of France, was still at the head of the foreign department, which gave him great influence in every thing that concerned the relation of the Union with the European states. Being called upon by a resolution of the Representatives of the 23d February, 1791, to report to Congress the nature and effect of the privileges and restrictions of the commercial intercourse of the United States with foreign nations, and the measures which he might think fit to be adopted for the improvement of the commerce and navigation of the same, he now laid his report, matured and digested with the labour and

consideration of nearly three years, before the House. The prominent parts of this report will be found in the Appendix; but it evidently appeared that the object and tendency of it were by garbling and misrepresentation of some facts, and by wilful suppression of others, to exaggerate the injuries supposed to be done to the commerce of America, and arising out of the navigation act, and the old long established commercial laws of Great Britain, and to diminish those done by France, Spain, and Portugal, particularly those committed by the first. To this end he had most partially and unfairly omitted great and important discriminations made by Great Britain in favour of America, and placed in the most magnified view, and in the most distorted shapes, and painted in the most glowing and exaggerated colours, those discriminations of Great Britain which were unfavourable to the United States; while on the other hand, he, with all the dexterity of an artist skilful in such things, threw into the obscurity of the back ground all the disadvantages imposed by France, Spain, and Portugal, and brought forward into light, and swelled up into immense benefits the most trifling preferences and unimportant benefits on their part.*

He who is not guided by steady fixed principles of truth and integrity will, in spite of him, (let his cunning be what it may,) occasionally wander into inconsistency and self-contradiction. The writings and the conduct of Mr. Jefferson stand upon record

* See Mr. W. L. Smith's Analysis and exposure of this report.

a rare and striking example of this moral truth. What Junius says of the difference between the principles laid down in Judge Blackstone's Commentaries and the judicial conduct of the Judge himself, may, with a little variation in the terms, be said of most parts of Mr. Jefferson's conduct in public affairs as compared with his Notes on Virginia, and sometimes with each other, and with his occasional opinions in council. If a man wishes to learn some few good rules of speculative policy, let him apply to Mr. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia: if he is desirous to see the opposite doctrines maintained in practice, let him apply to Mr. Jefferson himself and his reports. In his Notes on Virginia, he explicitly condemns as impolitic and injurious to America, and indeed as utterly impracticable the notion of resorting to domestic manufactures, declaring that the very worst consequences would arise from the introduction of such a system.—This was the opinion of Mr. Jefferson when he was an American, but returned from Paris to his country, a proselyte, a Frenchman and a philosophist, he was so eager to injure Great Britain, and, under the bondage of an unaccountable subordination to the rules of France, to entangle America in disputes with that country, which could only eventuate in a war, that he advanced in his report opinions and offered commercial propositions the very reverse of those which he had so elaborately inculcated in his former publications. Nor was this all; for in the blindness of his zeal for his newly adopted parent nation, he actually contradicted in one part of his report a maxim of government which he had laid down but

in the preceding page, and stated with the most unabashed, unshaken confidence as a fact, a commercial circumstance of great importance, which he found himself compelled, on his misrepresentation being detected, to contradict in his supplement to that report.—Let the report speak for itself and for its author.

Mr. JEFFERSON in 1782, a time when, the country being at war with Great Britain, no stimulus was necessary to inflame our citizens—sufficient causes then existing, said, that "manufactures were the "source of corruption and "foreigners the source of li- "centiousness."

See the Notes.

And again in page 93, he deprecates the importation of foreigners.

Mr. JEFFERSON in 1793, a time when there was no war with Great Britain, but when he thought a *quarrel with her was a desirable thing*, recommended burdening with duties such manufactures as we take in greatest quantity, and what we could the soonest furnish to ourselves, and then adds; "such duties "having the effect of indirect "encouragement to domestic "manufactures of the same "kind, may induce the manu- "facturer to come himself "into these States; and here "it would be in the power of "the State governments to co- "operate essentially by open- "ing the resources of encou- "ragement which are under "their controul, extending "them liberally to articles in "those particular branches of "manufacture, for which their "soil, climate, population, and "other circumstances have ma- "tured them, and fostering the

> " precious effects and progress
> " of household manufacture,
> " by firm patronage suited to
> " the nature of its objects,
> " guided by the local infor-
> " mation they possess, and
> " guarded against abuse by their
> " presence and attention. The
> " oppressions on our agricul-
> " ture in foreign parts would
> " thus be made the occasion
> " of relieving it from all de-
> " pendence on the counsels
> " and conduct of others, and
> " promoting arts, manufactures
> " and population at home.

Thus, after deprecating the introduction of domestic manufactures, and warning the country against the importation of foreigners, he recollects that encouraging domestic manufactures would injure Great Britain in her most important interests, and that encouraging foreigners to come over to America would injure her population, and therefore recommends both, though by his own shewing both would be confessedly injurious to the United States; willing, as it would appear, to injure Britain and please his friends in France, though at the unpardonable expense of considerable detriment to his own country; and he formally proposes plans, eminently calculated, as he avows, for introducing into his country a mass of foreigners from that monarchical country, and what was more unpardonable, of that class who were in his estimation the very worst

kind of foreigners—manufacturers; a class of people, says he in his report, which in society furnishes a barometer whereby to measure its degree of corruption.

It is worthy of remark, that this wise and consistent plan of Mr. Secretary Jefferson, was supported by Mr. Madison in a speech just as humane and honest as the plan itself was wise and consistent. Speaking of the British manufacturers he said, "There are THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND "SOULS who live by our custom—LET THEM BE "DRIVEN TO POVERTY AND DESPAIR, and what "will be the consequence? Most probably an ac- "cession of so many useful citizens to the United "States." He might have added without belying his heart—"Or at worst a loss to the population and ma- "nufactures of Great Britain of three hundred thou- "sand cut off with poverty and despair by our fidelity "to France:" this he might have added; but without that addition, the rest may stand on record as a reputable testimony to the refined moral sentiment, the humanity, justice, honour, and political integrity of Mr. Madison.

There is something in the very nature of deception which never fails to make it the instrument of its own detection and defeat. If it were not for something of this kind, how could it be accounted for, that a person of Mr. Jefferson's habits of close investigation should, within the compass of two pages, have flatly contradicted himself, and not been able in the three years during which the report occu-

pied his scrutinizing attention to discover it, though it is as broad and obvious as noon-day.

In PAGE 19, of the report, he says, "IT IS NOT THE MODERATION OR JUSTICE OF OTHERS "WE ARE TO TRUST for fair "and equal access to market "with our productions, or for "the due share in the transportation of them, but to our own "means of independence, and "the firm will to use them."

In PAGE 20, of the report, after recommending restrictions in particular, he says, "We "have no reason to conclude "that friendly arrangements "would be declined by the other "nations, with whom we have "such commercial intercourse "as may render them important. In the mean time it "would rest with the wisdom "of Congress to determine whether, *as to those nations*, they "will not *surcease ex parte regulations*, on the REASONABLE PRESUMPTION that they "will concur in doing WHATEVER JUSTICE AND MODERATION DICTATE SHOULD BE "DONE."

So palpable a contradiction, it will be said could hardly have escaped the attention of the reporter. That he hoped it would escape others is highly probable. But being determined on doing injury if possible to Great Britain, he either was confounded by the haste and trepidation with which a palpable wrong is done, and in his confusion overlooked it; or else heroically determined to encounter the danger of detection out of affection and zeal to his worthy cause. This man—this very man who was the deliberate composer, and who considers it as his greatest glory that he was the author of the

Declaration of Independence, (that sacred and solemn vow of a whole people, by which they pledged themselves to God and the world for their future conduct, therein making the purity and justice of their purposes, and the truth of that their pledge, the conditions upon which they invoked the aid of Heaven and the good will of man on earth,) that very man, who in that deed pledged himself *to hold the British nation* AS THE REST OF MANKIND, *enemies in war*, IN PEACE FRIENDS, having effected all that he purposed by that deed, renounces its conditions, and bearding the justice of man, and hoping to cheat that God whose privity no one action or thought of man escapes, boldly stands forth the shameless violator of that pledge, singles out Great Britain from the rest of mankind for his hatred and hostility, and calls upon his country whom he had so solemnly pledged along with himself for equal justice to all nations, to be the ENEMY *of the British nation* IN PEACE—to lay restrictions upon her, insinuating that there was nothing to be hoped from her justice or moderation, and at the same time to surcease *ex parte* regulations with respect to France, Spain, and Portugal, upon the presumption that THEY will act with justice and moderation. Take away the idea of a blunder from the composition, and it bears no other construction but that of an unfair design to implicate his country in all his unjust antipathies to a nation bound in amity with her by treaty. Take away that unfair design and it is as rank a blunder as ever the licentiousness of British farce ascribed to the lowest

Hibernian. Truth, however, will take away neither—the DEUS DEMENTAT is stamped upon it, and the blunder is evidently the plunging and foundering of a conscience startled at its own palpable injustice; of a heart bold as a lion in the projecting of an evil purpose, but timid as a hare in its execution. As a general position, without reference to the malicious purposes for which it was designed, it does just as much credit to his understanding as the purpose does to his heart. It may stand for ever as a monument of the intellectual powers of the philosopher of Monticello. First he lays it down as a general principle that the United States should not trust to the justice or moderation of other nations, and then he advises certain acts to be done with other nations which imply perfect confidence, "on the reasonable presumption that they will act "with justice and moderation." As if Providence had ordained that every circumstance should conspire to stamp with falsehood this intended imposition upon the national councils of his country, Spain and Portugal instead of concurring in doing whatever justice and moderation dictated should be done, concurred in flatly contradicting his predictions, and peremptorily refused to enter into any friendly commercial arrangements. He reported too, that Great Britain was not disposed to enter into a treaty with us; yet it so fell out that not very long after, (Mr. Jefferson being out of office at the time,) a commercial treaty was concluded which was thought by the people of England so much too favourable to America, that it impaired the British

Minister's popularity; though, as will be seen hereafter, the French faction, with Mr. Jefferson at the head of them, reprobated it as an abandonment of the commercial rights of the Union. Nor was he less wrong in his report respecting France. "France," says he, "has of her own accord proposed nego-"tiations for improving by a new treaty, on fair "and equal principles, the commercial relations of "the two countries." Here we must suppose Mr. Jefferson to have had every information before him. He must certainly, being in privity with the French Ministers in their counsels respecting the United States, have known perfectly well their intentions and the extent of their proposed favours, and from that consideration it will be easy to determine what he as a confidential state officer of rank, as Secretary of State *for the foreign* department, considered to be a treaty on fair and equal terms. He knew all the time, and so did Genet, and so did their partisans, for the partisans of one were the partisans of the other, that the *price of the treaty* so very kindly proposed by France, was *the United States becoming a party in the war*. Mr. Genet's instructions subsequently published revealed all this.

As one leading purpose of this history is to lay open the heart and intentions of Mr. Jefferson, or to prove what the lawyers denominate "the *quo* "*animo*" with which he acted, and as the intricate intentions of crafty men can only be ascertained by unravelling their actions minutely and tracing their

policy through its manifold subtilties, it would be doing injustice to the subject to leave this report, Mr. Jefferson's last official act as Secretary of State, without adverting to one other false statement (a purposed suppression is virtually a false statement) made in it, but upon detection, corrected in a supplementary report, which was called for by the House. In the former he stated that Great Britain admitted into her islands our productions by A PROCLAMATION OF HER EXECUTIVE *limited always to the term of* A YEAR, but hitherto renewed from year to year. But in the latter (page 9) he flatly contradicted his own assertion in these words; "The Secretary takes this occasion to notice an "act of the British Parliament of the 28th George "the Third, which though passed before the epoch "to which his report aforesaid related, had es- "caped his researches. The effect of it was to "convert the proclamations regulating our direct "intercourse with the West-India Islands into a "standing law, and so far to remove the unfavour- "able distinction between us and foreign nations "stated in the report."

Here the Secretary of State of a great nation is found, if his own account is to be believed, utterly ignorant of an important legislative transaction materially affecting the commerce of his country, and in that ignorance misleading the great national council who looked to and relied upon him for information. If he was not ignorant of the fact at the time he made the report, then was he a wilful defaulter and mischievous misrepresenter.

At the time he made it the act of the British Parliament was full and fresh in the public remembrance. It applied, moreover, to matters which interested and agitated the ministerial men of his government, of which he was himself a member. He had with the most minute scrutiny examined the subject in all its bearings, and he even reported in full size and in glowing colours one half of the merits of the case. It cannot therefore reasonably be believed that so very material a thing could in such circumstances have escaped him. His advocates may take their choice, and, as probity is but a feather in the scale of their estimation it is probable that they will agree with this history in saying that it did not really escape him; and so bring off his intellectual powers at the expense of his moral character and veracity.

Nor was this all; he pointedly remarked in his report that while the commerce of other nations was secured by standing laws which could not be altered but by the concurrent will of the three branches of the British government, our commerce was excluded from the security of fixed laws and depended *altogether*, on the single will of a monarch. It is manifest then that the object of this was to make an impression hostile to Great Britain, and that for this purpose he stated an unfavourable fact unaccompanied by its favourable adjunct; and it is equally plain that he never would have recanted or rectified the error, as he did in his supplementary report, if he did not find it necessary to give an air of candour to his conduct, and in that way to evade

further suspicion, and avoid the inevitable disgrace of purposed concealment and obstinate misrepresentation.*

Mr. Jefferson now found it impossible to maintain practically, or any longer openly to defend the principles which as Secretary of State he had strenuously supported by his arguments, without losing his popularity with the party over whom he had, by his artful machinations, gained such an ascendancy as to subvert in his private capacity the very principles of which in his official character he was the advocate. One or other he must renounce, because things had arrived at that crisis in which a double part could no longer be played. He saw too, that his report, with all its scandalous partiality and injustice, and all its manifold errors and misrepresentations was seen through. He therefore resigned the office of Secretary of State on the last day of the year, 1793, and was succeeded by Mr. Randolph, till that time Attorney General, and his partisan and coadjutor in every contested point in the Cabinet.

In a few days after the resignation of Mr. Jefferson, his friend Madison, who all along acted as his subordinate political machine, laid before the House a string of resolutions in which the old scheme of supplanting British commerce in favour of French was revived. It afterwards appeared from the intercepted correspondence of the French

* See Genet's letter accusing Jefferson of having two languages.

Minister Fauchet, that Mr. Jefferson himself was the real author of these resolutions. His newly adopted partiality to domestic manufactures was well known to be a mere hypocritical pretence—a delusion to enlist under the banners of him and his party all the artists of America, and all the patrons of domestic manufactures, and at the same time to encourage the languishing manufactures of France. No man better knew than Mr. Jefferson did, that in America there was no resource for the accommodation of the country with manufactures, if those of Great Britain were to be rejected. He avowed so much—he had strenuously argued so—he had, in his Notes on Virginia, demonstrated very laboriously and effectually that domestic manufactures could not prosper. He was fully aware that the exclusion of British manufactures would extremely injure the United States, and yet he was willing to exclude them at that enormous price to his country, because he imagined that it would serve France.

The resolutions of Mr. Madison were very ably resisted. Mr. William L. Smith of South Carolina, who had so ably and successfully exposed the report of Mr. Jefferson, analyzed the new resolutions with no less ability and effect, displaying at once their impolicy and injustice. On this occasion that enlightened statesman and virtuous citizen, Uriah Tracy of Connecticut, uttered a monitory opinion which fourteen years afterwards was verified in the embargo and its consequences. "One "would think," said he, "to hear the declarations

"in this House, that all men were fed at the open-
"ing of our hand; and if we shut that hand the
"nations starve, and if we but shake the fist after
"it is shut, they die; and yet one accusation against
"Great Britain is her prohibiting the importation
"of bread stuff while under a certain price.

"But there is a very serious aspect," said he,
"in which this subject ought to be viewed. The
"products of America grow in other soils than
"her's. The demands for them may be supplied
"by other countries. Indeed, in some instances,
"articles usually obtained from the United States
"would be excluded by a fair competition with the
"same articles furnished by other countries; and it
"was the discrimination made in their favour by the
"British government that enabled them to obtain a
"preference in the British market. By withhold-
"ing those which were of the growth of the United
"States, Great Britain would not lose the article,
"but America would lose the market; and a for-
"midable rival would be raised up, who would
"last much longer than the resolutions under con-
"sideration."*

Other observations made by the same able man are so valuable that they ought to be commemorated in every history of the times.—He spoke as follows:

"The discussion of this subject," said he, "has
"assumed an appearance which must be surprising

* The loss of the West-India market and other effects of the embargo will before the year 1810, verify this prediction of Mr. Tracy.

" to a stranger, and painful in the extreme to our-
" selves. The supreme legislature of the United
" States is seriously deliberating, not upon the wel-
" fare of our own citizens, but upon the relative
" circumstances of two European nations; and this
" deliberation has not for its object the relative be-
" nefits of their markets to us, but which form of
" those two European governments is best, and
" most like our own, which people feel the
" greatest affection for us, and what measures we
" can best adopt that will humble one and exalt the
" other.

" The primary motive of these resolutions, as
" acknowledged by their defenders, is, not the in-
" crease of our agriculture, manufactures, or navi-
" gation, but to humble Great Britain and to
" build up France. The discussion of these reso-
" lutions has breathed nothing but hostility and re-
" venge against the English, and yet they put on
" the mild garb of commercial regulations. Le-
" gislators, always cautious of attempting to force
" trade from its own channels and habits, should
" certainly be peculiarly cautious, when they do
" undertake such business, to set about it with
" temperance and coolness; but in this debate we
" are told of the non-execution of a former treaty—
" of withholding western posts—of the insults and
" domination of a haughty people, and that through
" the agency of Great Britain, the savages are upon
" us on one side, the Algerines on the other. The
" mind is roused by a group of evils, and then

"called upon to consider a statement of duties on "goods imported from foreign countries. If the "subject is commercial, why not treat it commer- "cially, and attend to it with coolness? If it is a "question of political hostility, or of war, a firmer "tone ought to be adopted. If the conduct of Great "Britain be in fact as hostile as it has been repre- "sented, I cannot justify myself to my constitu- "ents or my conscience in saying that the adoption "of these regulations of commerce, a navigation act, "or the whole parade of shutting ports, (EMBARGOES) "and freeing our trade from its shackles, is in any "degree calculated to meet or remedy the evil. Al- "though I deprecate war as a dreadful calamity, I "would inquire, seriously, whether we had on our "part fulfilled the treaty with Great Britain, and "would do complete justice to her first. I would "go as long and as far as patience ought to go; "and if I found an obstinate denial of justice, I "would then lay the hand of force upon the west- "ern ports, and would teach the world that the "United States were no less prompt in command- "ing justice to be done, than they had been pa- "tient and industrious in attempting to obtain it "by fair and peaceable means. In this view of the "subject, I would say, away with your milk and "water regulations! they are too trifling to effect "objects of such importance. Are the Algerines "to be frightened with paper resolves, or the Indians "to be subdued, or the western posts taken, by "commercial regulations? When we consider the "subject as a commercial one, it goes too far—

"but when considered as a war measure, it falls "infinitely short of the mark, and does too little."

The whole of Mr. Tracy's speech was prophetic, and contains a true picture of the politics of the times. It was not America—France alone occupied the souls of the authors, the movers, and the supporters of the resolutions. Local patriotism had for some time been extinct in the bosoms of that party, destroyed by the all-consuming spirit of jacobinism. Zeal was no longer displayed in the cause of any country; the accursed doctrine of the French school had absorbed it all; and when conflicting parties in America or elsewhere talked of France and England they really meant jacobinism and anti-jacobinism, of which two doctrines France and England were the champions.

As every occurrence, however remote or unconnected with Great Britain, was bent to the purposes of the faction against that country, because they knew that it and it alone was the chief rampart of the civilized world against the assaults of jacobinism, they did not fail to take advantage even of the piracies of the Algerines upon American vessels, and to represent them as the effects of British policy. The war between Portugal and Algiers had considerably prevented the depredations of the Corsairs upon the Americans. The British government who wished to disengage Portugal from Algiers, in order that her whole force might be given undivided to the confederacy against France, effected a truce between them, in consequence of which the whole Atlantic ocean was laid

open to the Algerines; and the captures of American vessels were increased to such an enormous amount that the executive found it necessary to take up arms against them; while the Gallic faction endeavoured to conduct the indignation of the people from the Algerines to the British. On the second of January, 1794, a resolution passed the Representatives declaring it necessary to provide a force adequate to the protection of the national commerce against the corsairs. The whole force proposed was to consist of six frigates; four of forty-four, and two of thirty-six. This proposition, narrow as it was, was opposed by the faction. Their reasons for opposing it, and the plan they would substitute for the defence of commerce, are worthy of consideration, as they will serve to throw an additional light upon the heads and hearts of that body. They objected to the proposal because it would lay the foundation of a permanent naval establishment, which they held to be peculiarly objectionable, as it would for ever prevent the payment of the national debt. It is observable, that this objection came from the very body of men who opposed the liquidation of the debt which was the price of American independence, when it was brought forward by Mr. Secretary Hamilton, and who, in the firebrand publications and resolves of the western insurgents, enumerated that payment among the crimes that ought to be laid to the charge of the executive. The opposers of the naval preparations then argued that it was to the extensiveness of the navy system, the oppressions under which the English groaned, the

overthrow of the French monarchy, and the dangers that threatened Great Britain were to be ascribed. They then observed that there were substitutes much more safe, which might be adopted for the defence of their commerce. One was, to purchase peace; another, to subsidize other foreign nations to protect our commerce. Thus to avoid the interruption of the payment of the national debt (which they before opposed) by the expense of an armament of six frigates, they would, at a much greater expense, purchase a peace, the permanency of which would entirely depend upon the will of the enemy, or, at a no less expense, purchase a defence fully as precarious, by buying protection from other nations. To say nothing of the utter baseness of the proposition, its absurdity is such that it would be incredible if it were not on record. At the very time that they deprecated the expense and evils of war with the miserable regency of Algiers, they were doing every thing which wickedness, ingenious in the fabrication of falsehood could devise, to embroil the nation in war with England. In a word, they were desirous to go to war, and at the same time to strip the country of the means of fighting. In this they had a twofold design; one to embarrass, and if possible to disgrace the executive; the other, to put the country entirely at the mercy of their more beloved France for protection. They knew from the papers before them, that the Dey of Algiers had rejected negotiation, and refused a passport for Colonel Humphreys, to go for the purpose. If a faint trace of recollection of the nature of national honour still re-

mained with them, they must have felt that depending upon others for that protection which the United States could afford themselves, would have been an indelible blot in the national escutcheon. This opposition, and the arguments upon which it was grounded, afford a high and curious specimen of the assurance of which wicked men, in their zeal to perpetrate a wicked purpose, are capable. When compared with the language held and the principles insisted upon by the very same men but a few sessions before, to accomplish their sinister purposes, they appear absurd and wicked. In the debates on the impost and tonnage bill Mr. Madison delivered the following sentiments:*

"If it is expedient for America to have vessels "employed in commerce at all, it will be proper "that she have enough to answer all the purposes "intended; *to form a school for seamen; to lay the "foundation of a navy;* and to be able *to support "itself against the interference of foreigners*, I consider an acquisition of essential consequence to "this country."

The interest of the United States, and the sacred rights of justice, demand that these men and their conduct should be rescued from the oblivion in which their natural insignificance would be likely to involve them. Over objects merely loathsome charity will throw a pall, nor will discretion lift it up to expose them to view; but when, unmindful of the proper distinctions, charity confounds her ob-

* See ante, p. 84, where it is adverted to before.

jects and throws a veil over criminal deeds, she then turns her back upon Heaven, and sins against herself. Shall it be forgotten, as long as a vestige remains upon earth of such men, or while the spirit of their abominable principles lingers in a single bosom shall it cease to be pealed in the public ear, that while our innocent fellow-citizens were groaning under the weight of Algerine slavery; while their wasted limbs were corroding to the very marrow with a barbarian's chains; while their backs were chequered with the inhuman stripes of slave-drivers, or galley-masters' whips, and while the disgrace of America, who endured it all, was written in every stripe and proclaimed aloud in every lash and every groan, our legislative Jacobins were coldly calculating how far this country—how far four or five millions of people could *with prudence* incur the expense of relieving their fellow-citizens and rescuing their country from dishonour—syllogising upon speculative points of political economy, and with a hardness of heart from which stoicism would turn with disgust and abhorrence, or a quadruped (if it could understand the subject) would start, rejecting the only remedy which could be devised for their relief with certainty of success, or with credit to the character of the nation. But such ends as they had in view were worthy of such means. The blood-stained usurpers of France were most properly associated with the handmaids of Algerine cruelty and enslavement.

Notwithstanding their spirited opposition, however, the measure was carried, with an accession to the number of its supporters on every stage of its

progress through the House. While it was under discussion a new circumstance occurred that not only afforded the French faction a fresh instrument of hostility to England with which to work upon the public mind, but, till it was in some sort explained away, made a very deep and serious impression upon the minds of the most moderate men in the Union. On the sixth of the preceding November, instructions had been sent to the cruisers of Great Britain to stop and bring in for legal adjudication, all ships laden with goods the produce of any colony belonging to France, or carrying provisions or other supplies to any such colony; and in consequence of this order American vessels were captured to an unexampled amount by British cruisers.

At this time there were certain prints in England which played into the hands of the prints of the jacobinical faction in America against their own country, echoing as far as was compatible with the decency due to private decorum, the abominations of Bache and Freneau. In Great Britain no paper could make use of the same kind of vulgar invective which fills those of the United States. The editors of the former could not stoop to such filthy personal scurrility, nor would the lowest of their readers endure it. A London dustman or chimney-sweeper would think himself defiled and blackened by reading a second time the foul-mouthed trash which amuses and edifies the democracy of America. But unfortunately the political mischief there, is not much lessened by the decency of the dra-

pery in which it is clothed. The nauseousness of the draught as administered in America would make men of refined taste turn from the poison. In England the fatal pill is gilt, or the dose made pleasing to the eye by the treacherous beauty and delicacy of the colouring. There, they stab their country without violating the decencies of life. The democrats of America who think that the press is enslaved where it is not scurrilous, and that the public interests are neglected when private character is not assassinated, and in a word, that nothing is liberty which falls short of licentiousness, would perhaps doubt, as every honest man must deplore, that in the very metropolis of the British empire, and under the nose of executive government, in sight of the courts of justice and of the high legislature of the nation, such pieces as that of which the following is an extract, were published in a democratic paper of the first circulation in London, for the mere purpose of being copied, as it afterwards was, into Bache's paper, as a genuine British article. After descanting upon the patient and pacific temper disclosed by America to Great Britain, it proceeds thus; "Had the United States been "otherwise disposed they would long since have de- "manded in a peremptory manner, as England would "have done in a like case, the surrender of the "back countries and the posts constructed thereon, "agreeably to the treaty made between the two "nations: they would have insisted on the im- "mediate payment for the negroes and other pro- "perty taken away from their plantations by the

"British commanders; they would have diplomati-
"cally remonstrated against the measures which
"they are convinced have been made use of to stir
"up the savages against them by Bowles and
"others calling themselves agents of England. The
"selfish system which Great Britain has adopted
"in her West-Indian commerce would have been
"amply retaliated. The seizures of the French Islands
"which the United States have guarantied to
"France would have been resented, and the delay
"of their courts of law amounting, they think, to
"a denial of justice, in determining their legal
"claims on British subjects, would have been na-
"tionally complained of and nationally corrected
"by means fully in their power.

"How long the citizens of America may be able
"to act with this forbearance cannot now be de-
"termined; the Minister of England seems to be
"trying their patience to the utmost."

Here we have incontestible evidence that the political contests in England and America (indeed in every part of Europe it was the same) were not patriotic contests about the country in which they raged; but doctrinal contests in which the Jacobins of each country joined the Jacobins of every other country against their fellow-citizens, and in favour of France. The Aurora, the opposition papers in Great Britain, and the Pere Duchene in Paris, all leagued together for the support of Jacobinism. Each assisted and played into the hands of the others. It being the object of the French and jacobin faction wherever extended

to involve America in war with England, and to stimulate the people and Congress to it, the incendiary arguments of the faction in America were first put as it were into the mouths of Englishmen in England against their own country: the corresponding prints in America copied them—the people seeing the accusation against England come from England itself, took it for granted, and the Houses of Legislature rang with this supposed confession on the part of Great Britain. The Congress acted up to it, and laid an embargo. Nothing could exceed the violence of the people. The French faction industriously employed themselves in procuring remonstrances against the forbearance of the government. In the general fury Mr. Madison's resolutions, if pushed upon the House would, in all probability, have passed; but that was too little to satiate the full-grown appetite of the faction; with nothing less than war would they now be satisfied. But their violence and extravagant eagerness frustrated their designs. In the House of Representatives a motion was made, and carried, to sequester all British property, but it was negatived in the Senate. A more violent measure still, was then proposed by a jacobin member,* embracing all the old grievances; in a word, a motion was made to stop all intercourse whatsoever with Great Britain till the posts detained by her within the territories of the United States should be given up. This, if it had

* Clarke of New Jersey.

passed into a law, would have amounted in effect to a declaration of war against England; which the President and Senate were, on the best grounds, averse to sanction.

Before any thing decisive was done on these propositions a letter from Mr. Pinckney, the Minister at the court of London, was laid before Congress, announcing the revocation (on the 8th January) of the instructions of the 6th November. The letter detailed a conversation between Mr. Pinckney and Lord Grenville, in which his Lordship, after dwelling on the friendly dispositions to the United States which had induced the revocation, explained the motives that occasioned the order of the 6th of November, which was only to be temporary, and was devised for two purposes; one, to prevent the abuses that might arise from the whole of the St. Domingo fleet having gone into the ports of the United States; the other, to favour the attack meditated upon the French West-India islands by the armament under Admiral Jervis and Sir Charles Grey. He added that the actual confiscation of the vessels never was intended—they were only to be brought in for adjudication: so that no vessel would be condemned under it that would not have been previously liable to the same sentence.

It was now evident that war was not inevitable.—Still, however, the faction urged their plans to the adoption of Congress, and made every exertion to increase the public irritation, and inflame the resentments which the people felt against Great

Britain. The federal minority in the House of Representatives were honoured with an unprecedented share of the fury and filth of the jacobin press. The democratic societies strained every nerve—and the moderate men who endeavoured to calm the public mind and reason with the people, were reviled as a British faction whose purpose it was to enslave their country. The glorious example of France, with its thousands of murderers reeking with the blood of millions of their brethren, and their knives still smoking from the throats of the murdered, was held up to encourage the American people to follow their laudable example by the way of raising their prostrated character. Washington and his adherents saw, with the greatest uneasiness, that if something more than usually fortunate did not occur, or if measures of great firmness and prudence were not speedily adopted, America would be drawn so far into the gripe of France as to leave her no longer mistress of her own conduct.—They feared that the spirit of anarchy, murder and spoliation which had just devastated France would soon cross the Atlantic, desolate the peaceful plains of America, and deluge them with the blood of her citizens. With shame and anguish they saw a large portion of their countrymen applauding the atrocities of France, and regarding with an eye of favour and delight that furious despotism, even while it disgraced by its practical effects the name of a republic—trampling upon every right, and disposing of the lives of millions of innocents in every form of cruelty and carnage that

wanton power could suggest; at the same time, holding up to execration, and denouncing, as the tools of the coalesced despots of Europe, all who disapproved the ravages of the guillotine, or expressed a proper horror of the murderous spirit of France. With appropriate feelings, the federal body contemplated the spirit of close imitation of the French in all their proceedings, which pervaded the Union, and trembled when they saw the self-created corresponding societies falsely and fraudulently pretending to be *the people*, daring the lawful constituted authorities, assuming to controul them and to interfere with their functions, and openly disseminating and rendering familiar to the multitude the very principles that led to that terrible ferocious despotism in France which in the name of the people, and by the instrumentality of such societies, had extirpated from that country the very last germ of all that was truly valuable, wise, or virtuous. They saw multitudes so utterly lost to all sensibility, moral feeling and shame, as to make "THE "REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL OF FRANCE," and "THE MOUNTAIN," their favourite toasts, and to sport with humanity so far as to compose and sing in chorus songs in praise of the guillotine.* They saw with profound grief all these things, and they were the more alarmed because they knew that when the physical force of a country takes the reins of

* God save the guillotine, said to be written by Mr. Joel Barlow, but really written by Mr. John Thelwall.

power out of the hands of its wisdom and virtue, the leaders who help it to that usurpation are never able, even if they should be inclined, to controul its excesses; but on the contrary, as was the case in France, are always crushed themselves, beneath the ruins they have occasioned.

These things produced in Washington and his adherents the most painful emotions, and urged them to every serious reflections respecting the means to avert from their country the ruin that impended over it. Determined to preserve the most strict neutrality till foreign aggressions should render it incompatible with the honour and safety of the country, the President perceived that it was necessary to put a stop in some way or other to the malevolent operations of the faction in the House of Representatives. He therefore laid before the two Houses of Congress a report on the insults and injuries received by America from all the belligerents. Mr. Secretary Randolph, whose zeal in the cause of France forbid it to be suspected that he would favour Great Britain, was the person who made it up, and he therein stated that "Be-
" sides those points of accusation which are com-
" mon to both French and British, the former (that
" is, the French) have infringed the treaty between
" the United States and them, by subjecting to
" seizure and condemnation our vessels trading
" with their enemies, in merchandize which that
" treaty declares not to be contraband, and under
" circumstances not forbidden by the law of na-
" tions."—The consequence of making this report

to the Secretary was, his being forthwith impeached by the faction of hostility to "LIBERTY AND "FRANCE."

Yet notwithstanding this, Clarke, supported by the other jacobins, resolved to *force* his resolution into a law, when, to their utter astonishment and mortification, they were informed that the President and Senate had appointed Mr. Jay Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the court of St. James's. This was a matchless and a bold stroke of policy. As it required firmness, it could not be in better hands than in those of Washington. It completely united firmness with moderation, and blasted the plans of the French faction who, nevertheless, carried Clarke's resolution through the House only to be rejected at once, and on the best possible grounds, by the Senate.

When it was understood without doors that Mr. Jay was appointed to negotiate with Britain, and of course that there was no hope left of involving the country in a war, in alliance with France, the French faction became outrageous in the extreme, or to use the words of a respectable historian on that occasion, were seized with a mixture of madness and despair. Their invectives upon the illustrious Washington are worthy of being commemorated.

"It has now become a question (said one essayist) "whether Congress is necessary or of any utility to "the country. To cast a retrospective eye at the "present session, it would appear as if the six "dollars a day were more an object of calculation

"than the interests of the people—to take a view "of the executive conduct it would seem as if "he considered a legislative body a dead weight "upon the government, and was resolved to ob- "struct its operation by diplomatic appointments. "Perhaps it would correspond more with the wishes "of the executive and its satellites, if Congress "was to adjourn *sine die* and leave all to them. "Indeed, from what has happened, it would be a "saving to the United States for Congress to dis- "solve immediately; for as long as the vigour of "the present combination continues, so long will "legislative functions be unnecessary, unless for "the express purpose of devoting their delibera- "tions to the interests of *the knights of the fund- "ing system*. The present governmental system "is, that the people are not entitled to considera- "tion—that their voice ought not to influence— "and that their feelings ought not to make an im- "pression on the Legislature. Would the Senate "have dared to reject the bill which contains the "means of rendering justice and retribution to the "United States for the insults and aggressions sus- "tained from Great Britain, if the people were not "viewed by them, in the language of their brother "Burke, as the swinish multitude?

"What complexion does this conduct bear? "Perhaps the suggestion would not be wide of the "truth which said that to sever the connection be- "tween this country and Great Britain would be "the stroke of death to an aristocratical faction; "and that to avoid this the bill from the House

" of Representatives was rejected, and a chief jus-
" tice was appointed to negotiate. If the western
" posts are not to be the price of this negotiation,
" that a pretext may be kept up for having a
" minister of war and a military establishment, it
" will be a pleasing astonishment to many who view
" the violation of order and constitution in this ap-
" pointment with pain and with horror."

Another libeller speaks thus:—

" The President, not content with annihilating the
" people, wished also to annihilate the obligations
" of a treaty—the price of our liberties. FAITHLESS,
" UNPRINCIPLED, AND ARISTOCRATICAL MODE-
" RATIST! who would offer up the liberties of
" thy fellow-citizens on the altar of administration,
" and the sacred obligations of our country, though
" perhaps not thine, on the altar of treachery and
" dishonour.

" How long is this to be borne with? How long
" are we to submit to the exertions of a set of
" men among us who wish to prostrate us at the
" feet of Great Britain, and barter away every thing
" freemen hold dear? Is there not one propitious
" gale to kindle the embers of expiring liberty,
" again to consume its conspirators? Disguised
" moderatists forbear! Freemen are slow to anger;
" but, when roused, moderation and forbearance
" may forsake them."

Such was the advantage which the French faction took of the appointment of Mr. Jay as Envoy to England, he being known to be hostile to jacobinized France. To deprive them of that advan-

tage, and manifest the impartiality which it was his opinion ought to be observed, Washington immediately appointed Mr. Monroe, who was known to be a violent, and as it was then supposed, an implacable enemy to Britain, to go as envoy to France. This expedient shewed the great wisdom and able policy of the President. He obtained a complete triumph over the insidious democrats; the French faction were beaten back from the high ground which they had for some time occupied, and did not recover again during the continuance of Washington in the office of President. Every year that elapsed gave additional strength to that great man's claim on the gratitude of his country as long as its records should endure. He had, ever since he was first invested with the office of President, to encounter by firmness and cool deliberation, a furious opposition which was endeavouring to sacrifice the best interests of the United States on the blood-stained altar of the French Revolution, and who wished to involve the country in a war not for American, but for French objects—an opposition, which, while it urged on war, systematically dried up the sources of supply, and denied the means of supporting a war establishment, for the purpose of more effectually humiliating the government, and compelling it to sink into the polluting embraces of France—an opposition so abandoned and so blinded by their corrupt and profligate passion for imitating the crimes of France, so lost to all sense of moral law, and so deplorably ignorant of the limits between right and

wrong, as to confound the very worst and most damnable crimes with meritorious deeds, and endeavour entirely to abolish the natural distinction between vice and virtue—an opposition that, in order to intoxicate the people, industriously propagated principles, which if reduced to practice, were incompatible with the existence of government—in fine, an opposition that might be truly called the prime heralds of sedition, the apostles of anarchy and licentiousness, and consequently the enemies of real rational liberty.

Being thus disabled from acting, though they could not be silenced on the subject of their favourite France, the faction began to look out at home for some domestic concern on which to vent their malice and exercise their calumnious invention. Mr. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, was considered not only by Washington himself, but by the bulk of the people at large, as possessing more of the active energetic wisdom and virtue which constitutes a valuable friend and a formidable enemy, than any man of the party. He was accordingly honoured with a larger share of the antipathy of the Jacobins. With the hope of finding out, during a course of inquiry, some grounds for the crimination of that great man, resolutions were moved in both houses to institute an inquiry into the Treasury Department. Those in the Senate were not proceeded upon. Those in the House of Representatives were moved by Mr. Giles. The Secretary was desirous of such an inquiry, and courted investigation with the fearless pride of innocence,

desiring to have the merits of his case submitted to his enemies. A committee such as both parties therefore wished, was appointed. Mr. Giles, being the chairman, entered with great appetite into a laborious and minute investigation, and the inquiry terminated highly to the honour of the Secretary, and the more to his honour because it was conducted by his enemies.

Allusion has already been made to certain expeditions that were set on foot by M. Genet, when ambassador, against the Spanish colonies.—One of these, against Louisiana, was to be arranged in Kentucky, and to proceed thence down the Ohio, in which State, as well as through all the western country* great discontents had been fomented by the French faction. About this time they assumed a still more serious and alarming aspect than ever; and M. Fauchet, the French Minister who succeeded Genet, and who with much more caution and cunning, pursued the very same objects that Genet had so rashly attempted to accomplish, encouraged those discontents by every means with which American democratic agency could supply him. Under the auspices of the democratic societies, who, without delay or hesitation, transferred their allegiance from Genet to his successor, a remonstrance, usurping to be the act of the people of Kentucky, was drawn up, and the subject matter of it was the navigation of the Mississippi, of the in-

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* See page 95, up to 107.

terruption to which they complained; and it was laid before the President and Congress. This offspring of the faction, bore visible marks of the disgraceful parentage from which it sprung. In the name of the sovereign people, justly offended by the misbehaviour of their servants, (the government,) it demanded the free navigation of the Mississippi, as a natural right. It insulted the three branches of the government by the most saucy aspersions; accused them of being swayed from their duty by local preferences; and not very distantly threw out hints of separation from the Atlantic States. It is worthy of remark, that the rights they claimed under their Deity, Nature, were precisely the same, and were urged in the very same sort of language that the French made use of respecting the river Scheldt, in 1792, when they made it a pretext for invading, in order the more effectually to subjugate Holland.

In answer to this remonstrance the Senate, by its committee, answered that negotiations were at that time carrying on between Spain and the United States at Madrid, in which the right claimed by Kentucky would be asserted; and that therefore it would be improper for Congress to interfere. But in order to satisfy the people, they requested the President to communicate to them such part of the negotiation as he might deem advisable. The Representatives expressed a conviction to the same effect as the Senate had done. Indeed, the Secretary of State had by direction of the President, two months before, given to the governor of Ken-

tucky the most solemn assurances upon the point desired. But this would not satisfy the sovereign people. Their servants, the American government, had, as they thought, fallen short of their duty. Those masters of the sovereign people, the democratic societies and the French minister, had told them so, and ordered them to urge their right in a more peremptory form. As in the case of the Scheldt, the river was only a pretext—the real object was war. A number of persons, therefore, who by the curtesy of their faction and country, were called respectable, assembled at Lexington, and came to a number of insolent and seditious resolutions. In these they observed that "The general government "whose duty it was to put them in possession of the "navigation of the Mississippi, had through design, "or mistaken policy, *adopted no measures* for its "attainment." Here they gave the contradiction direct to the President and Congress, who had already assured them that measures had been adopted; and to this insolence they added a blunder —"Even *the measures they have adopted*," said they, "have been uniformly concealed from us, "and veiled in mysterious secrecy." They then made a flourish with the French principle which had wearied the ears, and tongues, and pens, of the sans-culottery of France, in the eyes of their established government, and added—"Civil liberty "is prostituted when the servants of the people" every drunken planter in Kentucky thought Washington *his* servant) "are suffered to tell their masters "that communications, which they, the masters,"

"(drunken planters wallowing in the mists and mire "of the wilderness,) may judge important, ought "not to be communicated to them."

It was easy at the time for those whose elevated situations gave them a complete view of the whole proceedings of the nation, to trace a visible and palpable connection between these resolutions and the military preparations which Genet and his American Gallic faction were then making. The conclusion of the meeting was a recommendation to the people to convene county meetings, committees of correspondence—a convention too, if expedient, together with all the criminal farrago of French revolutionary proceedings which they had gleaned in ill translated, garbled fragments from the democratic prints, or collected from the immediate instructions of Fauchet and his democratic societies.

In consequence of information given in the end of the year 1793, by the Spanish officers, that four Frenchmen had left Philadelphia, with powers from the French minister to prepare an expedition in Kentucky against New-Orleans, the Secretary of State was directed by the President to communicate it to the Governor of Kentucky with a desire that he would use the lawful means of preventing it; and at the same time the Secretary of War conveyed the President's desire that if such preventive means should fail, effectual military force should be employed to stop the expedition; and General Wayne was ordered to hold a body of troops in readiness for the purpose. The governor had

before had intelligence of the fact, for the Frenchmen employed in it made no secret of the business, but declared they only waited for money to commence their operations.

After the decisive laws laid down by government for the preservation of neutrality, this attempt of the minister of France to set on foot such an enterprise in the country, would seem to rise beyond the pitch of even revolutionary fraud and arrogance. It is some alleviation of his crime that he had the orders of his government for it, and that it was the policy, however wicked, of his employers. But what shall be said of the Americans, who not only in their lawful government, but to the obvious ruin and disgrace of their country entered into that atrocious project along with him. The very French who suborned, must have despised, must have execrated them? Traitor is a feeble term of reproach for such men. Hear the language of a man chosen to be the Governor of a State—hear the language of the Governor of Kentucky. After stating his knowledge of the fact he goes on, and says "I have "great doubts, even if they do attempt to carry "their plan into execution, (provided they ma-"nage their business with prudence,) whether "there is any legal authority to restrain or punish "them, at least before they have actually accom-"plished it: for, it is lawful for any one citizen "of this State to leave it—it is equally so for any "number of them to do it. It is also lawful to carry "with them any quantity of provisions, arms, and "ammunition, and if the act is lawful in itself, there

"is nothing but the particular intention with which "it is done, that can make it unlawful. But I know "of no law which inflicts a punishment on intention "only; or any criterion by which to decide what "would be sufficient evidence of that intention, "if it was a proper subject for legal censure.

"I shall, upon all occasions, be averse to the ex- "ercise of any power which I do not consider my- "self as clearly and explicitly invested with; "much less would I assume power to exercise it "against men whom I consider as friends and "brethren, in favour of a man whom I view as an "enemy and a tyrant. I shall also feel but little in- "clination to take an active part in punishing or "restraining any of my fellow-citizens for a supposed "intrusion only, to gratify or remove the fears "of the minister of a prince who openly with- "holds from us an invaluable right, and who se- "cretly instigates against us a most savage and "cruel enemy."

Had such a letter been written by a subordinate magistrate to the chief magistrate and government of his country, in any state of society where liberty, in the proper acceptation of the word, was understood, and where law, the great shield of liberty, prevailed over licentiousness, the person writing it would have been impeached and brought to condign punishment. The mere act of disobedience was a misdemeanor of an unpardonable quality: The purposes for which it was committed, and the circumstances attending the whole affair, contributed to heighten the offence; and hereafter when the whole

light of exposure shall be thrown on this wicked transaction, it will be seen that, contrary to the Governor of Kentucky's opinion, there may be a criterion to decide what ought to be sufficient evidence of an intention, and that there may be enough of that evidence to make his connivance, the guilt of which was aggravated by contumacy and insolence to his chief magistrate and government, a crime of a higher order than a mere misdemeanour. On receipt of the letter, Washington clearly perceiving the dangerous tendency of the design, and convinced that the civil power of the State was not to be confided in, ordered General Wayne with a competent number of troops to take a military station at Fort Massac, and to stop by force any body of armed men who should be detected moving down the river.

In the mean time, a part of the general enterprise which was to be carried on through Georgia against the Floridas, though discovered and checked by the arrest of some of the persons concerned, was still going on secretly. A French sloop of war arrived in the mouth of the river St. Mary's, which divides Georgia from Florida, and landed on an island on the south side of it a body of troops, who avowed that they were only a part of a very large force which they daily expected to join them. As soon as intelligence of their arrival reached the neighbouring part of the United States, several bodies of the Americans who had been enlisted by Genet and his American jacobin associates,

assembled in Georgia to coöperate with the French against the dominions of Spain. The whole plan, however, was disconcerted, by the prudent and active interposition of the executive. Every appearance tended to prove that this was the crisis when all the parts of the atrocious machinery of the French faction against the peace and neutral position of the United States, were to be set in motion at once. While in Kentucky and Georgia their military operations were in full preparation, nothing was to be heard but the praises of France, and the most enthusiastic effusions of applause upon the bloody and ferocious band of tyrants who swayed the usurped sceptre of that country. Their greatest enormities were the subjects of rapturous admiration—and the friendship of those monsters for the United States, their respect for her rights, and the incalculable benefits America had derived from the government of France, (a government whose throats those they now applauded, had cut,) were echoed and reëchoed to and fro over the continent; while on the other hand, the ingratitude of America to France, the injustice of the executive, its suspicious conduct and abject tameness under British insolence and tyranny, were repeated every day in the democratic prints; and in every public meeting, and every private conversation made the subject of outrageous declamation, and incessant malignant invective. Every prejudice of the people was appealed to, every angry passion fomented and inflamed, in order to their coming into coöperation with the forces directed against Spain.

And now it was whispered to the insurgents in the western part of Pennsylvania, that the proper opportunity was at hand for them to obtain a complete victory over the laws, the government, and the chief magistrate of their country. Their defiance of the law now manifested itself in open offensive outrage. They attacked in full force the house of General Neville, the inspector, but were repulsed. Expecting a repetition of the attack, the General called upon the magistrates and militia for protection, and was told that the combination of the people was too general and too determined against the revenue system, to allow the laws to be executed, or him to be protected; for that, if the *posse comitatus* were called out, few could be found that were not implicated in the riot. He then applied to the commanding officer at Fort Pitt and obtained from him a detachment of eleven men, who were joined by Major Kirkpatrick. Five hundred of the insurgents renewed the attack—against such a force a dozen men could make but a short and ineffectual resistance. A parley took place, in which the insurgents demanded that the party in the house should march out and ground their arms. This proposal was refused. The battle immediately recommenced, and the few within defended themselves gallantly against the traitorous mob without till, at last, as cowardly as inhuman, they set fire to the adjacent buildings, from which the heat was so intense that the brave men were obliged to surrender. The marshal who had been sent to serve processes on the insurgents narrowly escaped with his life; and he

and General Neville retired to Pittsburgh, whither they were followed by two of the insurgents, one of them a Justice of the Peace, deputed to demand of the marshal the surrender of all the processes into their hands—and of General Neville, that he should resign his office of inspector under penalty of having Pittsburgh attacked and their persons seized. Both marshal and inspector peremptorily refused, and made their escape by dropping down the Ohio in a boat, and making their way circuitously to Philadelphia. Nor was this the worst: in order to discover what secret enemies they might have lurking among them, they waylaid the mail from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, broke it open and examined the letters, in many of which a strong disapprobation of the proceedings of the insurgents was expressed. Upon this, delegates were dispatched from Washington to Pittsburgh, to demand the banishment of the writers of the offensive letters. This demand was obeyed immediately; and the inhabitants of Pittsburgh agreed to hold a general meeting, and to elect delegates to a convention which was to meet on the 14th of August.

Washington now, with deep regret, perceived that it would be dangerous to temporize any longer, and that prompt and decisive steps must be taken to quell the insurrection. He saw that tenderness and conciliatory measures only increased the arrogance, emboldened the resistance, and extended the criminal views, of the malcontents. He saw that in the fullness of presumption engendered by impu-

nity, they disclosed designs of a much more deep and criminal dye than the evasion of a single legislative act. He saw, too, that the machinery was set in motion by hands which the safety of the nation, and his duty required of him not to slight. Besides, there were now overt acts clearly demonstrative of a treasonable purpose. The laws had been violated by force of arms, and a determination was avowed to persevere in the same projects and proceedings. Government, he perceived, must either submit to, or pull down the insurgents; and he determined to use the power which the constitution and laws had intrusted to him, as became the chief magistrate of a nation. Whatever might be the consequence, and however severe, or even sanguinary in its execution, they themselves were to stand the responsibility, since it was they that raised the ponderous arm of justice, and none but they were to be blamed, if, in falling, it crushed them with its weight.

And now came on the time that was to try the hearts of men, and exhibit to the world the stuff they were made of. Any man of common sense will see at a glance, that a statesman who agrees to parley with an insurrection carried to such a length of active outrage as that described, must be more than indifferent to the safety of his government—and that not to crush it was to lay the government and laws at its feet. He indeed must be but a sorry politician who does not know that prompt and decisive measures are, in such cases, not only the most secure and certain of suc-

cess, but the most lenient in the end, to the offenders. To avoid military coercion was the wish of the President, if it could possibly be avoided. The Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, and the Attorney General, were of opinion that the President was bound by the most high and solemn obligations to employ the force which the legislature had placed at his disposal, for the suppression of this criminal and unprovoked insurrection.—That he was bound by considerations the most awful to perform the duty imposed on him by the constitution, of providing "that the laws be "faithfully executed," and that a continuation of forbearance would only give a more extensive range to disaffection, and multiply the dangers resulting from it. The President himself felt that it was a degradation to which, as chief magistrate, he ought not to submit, to see the government intrusted to him trampled under foot by a lawless banditti; and he therefore resolved to issue the proclamation which by law was to precede the employment of force. The Secretary of State, E. Randolph, was of opinion, and Mifflin, the Governor of Pennsylvania, concurred with him, that nothing ought to be done which bore the appearance of coercion. They affected to be alarmed at the strength of the insurgents, at the extent of their connections through the Union, at the popular discontent with the administration, and at the difficulty and expense of bringing the militia into the field. They feared that the militia of the neighbouring States would refuse to march, and that if they did, their com-

pliance might be more fatal than their disobedience. The introduction of a foreign militia into Pennsylvania might (Mr. Randolph thought) increase the discontents that prevailed in that State. He feared a failure in the attempt, and he feared still worse, the consequences of a failure. He feared a civil war—he feared every thing but that which was most to be feared, the rebellion that was actually raging in the west.

The reason of the Secretary's fears and arguments came out afterwards, in a manner which shall be immediately related.

M. Fauchet had written to the Commissioner of Foreign Relations in France a political dispatch, in which he entered very minutely into the rise, progress, and effects of the western insurrection; to use his own words, as A KEY to the facts detailed in the reports made by his colleagues in the legation of which he was the head. This dispatch was put on board THE JEAN BART, a French privateer, bound to France. On her way she was taken by an English frigate in the Channel. After the Jean Bart had struck her colours, the captain bethought him of Fauchet's dispatches, and just as the frigate's boat was coming along side, he threw them overboard. There happened to be at the time on board the privateer, a Captain Goddard, the commander of an English merchantman which had been captured by the Jean Bart. Conceiving that the dispatches might be of consequence to his country, and seeing that they were likely to go to the bottom before the boat of

the frigate could reach them, Captain Goddard gallantly leaped overboard and kept them afloat till he and they were taken up by the British sailors. The dispatches were sent to London, whence they were directly transmitted to Mr. Hammond, the British Minister at Philadelphia, who was at that time preparing to return home without accomplishing the principal object of his mission. The dispatches, however, were of a nature which induced him to stay.—They revealed a scene of treachery at the head of which stood Mr. Randolph, the Secretary of State. Mr. Hammond immediately communicated the contents of the dispatches to Mr. Wolcott, the Secretary of the Treasury, who discovered the whole affair to the President, in consequence of which Randolph, to avoid the disgrace of a dismission, resigned; and published a foolish vindication of himself, which inculpated him still more deeply than the letter of Fauchet had done.

If, in the blaze of success which followed the French outrages upon the rights, properties, and lives of other nations, their means of conquest be steadily viewed, it will appear that they owed as much, indeed more, to corruption than to military force. To procure money for that purpose they had stopt at no guilt—had spared the commission of no crime.—Massacres, military execution for forced loans, confiscations, sacking of cities, plundering of churches and altars, and even breaking in upon the sanctuary of the grave, and robbing the dead of their covering, was resorted to in order to corrupt and buy over the fidelity of the leading men of every

nation. From this treacherous practice, there is good reason to believe that America did not entirely escape. Indeed, it began to appear immediately on the arrival of Genet, whose influence by this means was felt in many parts of the Union, and pretty openly exercised in some. Fauchet's dispatches threw a strong light upon the disposition of some leading Americans to be corrupted, and shewed, if not how much it did, at least how much more it might have effected, in the mischiefs of the western insurrection, had the purse of that minister been prepared to meet the advances of those American democratic patriots.

The very first paragraph of the intercepted key alluded to was couched in the following words.

"Citizen Minister—The measures which pru-
"dence prescribes to me to take with respect to
"my colleagues, have still presided in the digest-
"ing of the dispatches signed by them, which treat
"of the INSURRECTION OF THE WESTERN COUN-
"TRIES, and of the repressive means adopted by
"the government. I have allowed them to be
"confined to the giving a faithful but naked re-
"cital of events. The reflections therein contained
"scarcely exceed the conclusions easily deducible
"from the character assumed by the public prints.
"I have reserved myself to give you as far as I
"am able, a key to the facts detailed in our re-
"ports. When it comes in question to explain
"either by conjectures or by certain data the secret
"views of *a foreign government* it would be im-

"prudent to run the risk of indiscretions, and "to give one's self *up to the men whose* "*known partiality for that government*, and simi- "litude of passions and interests with its chiefs, "might lead to confidence, the issue of which are "incalculable. Besides, THE PRECIOUS CONFES- "SIONS OF Mr. RANDOLPH ALONE throw a "satisfactory light upon every thing that comes "to pass."

Here the chief confidential minister of the French Republic, then employed in subverting, by corruption as well as arms, all the governments of the world that were accessible to them, declares that in that dispatch, which he calls a key to the facts of the western insurrection, he has to relate that which he could not safely trust to his colleagues in office, because they had a known partiality to the American government, and a similarity of passions and interests with its chiefs. A most demonstrable proof that his intentions were hostile to the government of the country. And then he states that THE PRECIOUS CONFESSIONS OF MR. RANDOLPH threw a satisfactory light upon all that passed.

"These (precious confessions of Mr. Randolph) "I have not (continues he) communicated to my "colleagues. The motives already mentioned, "(that is, their having a partiality for the government "and its chiefs,) lead to this reserve and still "less permit me to open myself to them at the pre- "sent moment."

That is to say, my colleagues being friendly to this government and its executive officers, I could not venture to disclose to them what Mr. Randolph has told me in his PRECIOUS CONFESSIONS. And this was confirmed by Randolph himself in his vindication, in which he incautiously leaked it out. "Two persons," says he, "were in commission "with Mr. Fauchet, and it was suspected *from a "quarter in which I confided*, that these persons "were in a political *intimacy with members of our "government* not friendly to me." Now when it is considered that the fidelity of this intercepted dispatch was admitted by Mons. Fauchet and Mr. Randolph, in their wretched attempts to explain it, it cannot be denied that at the outset there is abundant evidence that confessions had been made by Mr. Randolph to Fauchet, which, however precious to the latter and his employers, were hostile and injurious to the government of the United States.

It has already been stated* that in the subsequent part of the business, when the cabinet were called upon to take into consideration the means of suppressing the insurrection, the Secretary of State (Mr. Randolph) made many plausible and seemingly patriotic objections to the use of coercive measures, and that Mr. Mifflin, the Governor of Pennsylvania, joined him in opinion. Now, let it be considered what the French minister's dispatches say to the point. In his 15th paragraph he speaks of the preparations of the federal government to re-

* See page 214.

duce the insurgents to order and obedience; and then in the 16th, speaking of the conduct of certain persons in power at that momentous crisis he says:—

"In the mean time, although there was a "certainty of having an army, yet it was ne- "cessary to assure themselves of coöperators "among the men whose patriotic reputation "might influence their party, and whose luke- "warmness or want of energy might compro- "mise the success of the plans. Of all the go- "vernors whose duty it was to appear at the head "of the requisitions, the Governor of Pennsylvania "alone enjoyed the name of republican. The Se- "cretary of State (Dallas) possessed great influ- "ence in the popular society of Philadelphia, "which, in its turn, influenced those of other States; "of course *he* merited attention. It appears, there- "fore, that *these men*, (Randolph and Mifflin,) with "others whom I do not know, all having without "doubt Randolph at their head, WERE BALAN- "CING TO DECIDE ON THEIR PARTY. Two or "three days before the proclamation was published, "and of course before the cabinet had resolved on "its measures, Mr. Randolph came to me with "an air of great eagerness and made me the over- "tures of which I have given you an account in No. "6." The words of No. 6, which Randolph himself stated in his vindication, were these:—"Scarce "was the commotion known, (says Fauchet to "the French minister in Paris,) when the Secre-

"tary of State came to my house. All his coun-
"tenance was grief. He requested of me a pri-
"vate conversation. It is all over, he said to me;
"a civil war is about to ravage our unhappy
"country. Four men* by their talents, their in-
"fluence, and their energy, may save it. But,
"debtors of English merchants, they will be de-
"prived of their liberty if they take the small-
"est step. Could you lend them instantaneously
"funds sufficient to shelter them from English pro-
"secution? This inquiry astonished me much.
"It was impossible for me to make a satisfactory
"answer. You know my want of power, and my
"deficiency in pecuniary means. I shall draw
"myself off from the affair by some common-
"place remarks, and by throwing myself on the
"*pure* and unalterable principles of the Republic."
The reader will guess at the conscious situation of Mr. Randolph when he could resort to the publication of this by way of weakening the executive against him. This is only a part too, of No. 6—what the quality of the rest was, may be easily inferred. M. Fauchet, going on, says, "Thus, with
"some thousands of dollars, the Republic could
"have decided on civil war or peace. Thus THE
"CONSCIENCES OF THE PRETENDED PATRIOTS
"OF AMERICA HAVE ALREADY THEIR PRICES.

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* Randolph, Mifflin, and Dallas were the three—the reader will guess the fourth.

"It is very true that the certainty of these conclu-
"sions, painful to be drawn, will forever exist in
"our archives. What will be the old age of this
"government, if it is thus already decrepid."

From this last circumstance it is evident that the overtures of Randolph to Fauchet were for money to be applied to some purpose relative to the insurrection. Till the discovery thus made by Randolph that the Frenchman would give no money, we find Randolph, Mifflin, and Dallas, *combining and confederating with some persons unknown*, doing every thing to delay at least, if not prevent, the suppression of the western insurrection. Randolph raised as many formidable obstacles to it as wicked ingenuity could devise, as appears by his letter to the President, and Mifflin made no exertions to assemble the militia* till after the end of August, when, for want of cash, Fauchet rejected the overtures by Randolph.

Notwithstanding the many objections and obstacles raised by Randolph and those who were concerned with him, the President issued a proclamation on the 7th of August, enjoining all the insurgents to disperse before the 1st of September, and on the same day made a requisition for troops, on the Governors of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, each being required to furnish a certain quota. Philadelphia was then the

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* See Dallas's report hereafter stated.

focus of French influence upon the Union. Not a man of the Pennsylvania militia came forward. The Legislature of the State was called together in order to devise means to force the militia to turn out. In the mean time about five hundred young men, not one of whom was of the militia, marched westward. With these and the troops collected from the other States, an army was formed which completely overawed the insurgents; and thus, by the vigour and prudence of the executive, was this formidable insurrection quelled.

The attempts, however, which were made to prevent the raising of the quota of militia for Pennsylvania demanded investigation. The Assembly expressed in strong terms its abhorrence of it. It could not escape public animadversion, or elude the notice of the high constituted authorities of the country. The Union would naturally look for a satisfactory explanation of so very extraordinary and dangerous an act of disobedience. Honest individuals speculated upon it with severity. The curious were diligently employed in sifting it. Rumour began to disseminate suspicions to the disadvantage of certain leading characters and the Governor, (Mifflin,) and the Secretary of State, (Dallas,) were glanced at as having tampered with the militia to prevent them from turning out, or at least of having designedly neglected to adopt the proper means for obtaining the quota which had been called for by the President. The Legislature appointed a committee to investigate the business, and

that committee ordered the Secretary of the Commonwealth to furnish them with copies of all official papers and documents relative to the expedition; which Secretary Dallas complied with, accompanying the papers with a report, in which he glossed over the delay by various plausible representations. It appeared, however, that after much time had passed, during which the insurrection extended itself into Maryland and Virginia, and immense mischief had been, and more might have been done, Governor Mifflin travelled up the country and exerted his popular eloquence, which it seems was great, with considerable effect.

This change in the conduct of Governor Mifflin was accounted for in a way not very advantageous to the characters of him and Mr. Dallas; and the intercepted dispatch of Fauchet gave great weight to, if it did not effectually substantiate the imputation. Every obstacle is first thrown in the way of calling out the militia—precisely at that time the overture for money is rejected by Fauchet, not because he thought it ought not to be given, no—on the contrary, he laments his not having it to give—" Thus, with some thousands of dollars " the Republic could have," &c. The Governor then exerts his eloquence, and what says Fauchet? Immediately following up his statement of the overture for money, and his refusal, he goes on and says: " As soon as it was decided that the French Re- " public purchased no men to do their duty, there

" were to be seen individuals about whose con-
" duct the government might at least form un-
" easy conjectures, giving themselves up with a
" scandalous ostentation to its views, and even se-
" conding its declarations. The popular societies
" soon emitted resolutions stamped with the same
" spirit, and who, though they may have been ad-
" vised by love of order, might nevertheless have
" omitted, or uttered them with less solemnity.—
" *Then were seen coming from the very men whom*
" *we had been accustomed to regard as having little*
" *friendship for the system of the Treasurer,*
" *harangues without end, in order to give a new*
" *direction to the public mind.* The militia, however,
" manifest some repugnance, particularly in Penn-
" sylvania, for the service to which they are called.
" Several officers resign: At last, by excursions or
" harangues, incomplete requisitions are obtained,
" and scattered volunteer corps from different parts
" make up the deficiency. How much more in-
" teresting than the changeable men whom I have
" painted above, were those plain citizens who an-
" swered the solicitations that were made to them to
" join the volunteers."

From this intercepted dispatch of M. Fauchet's, two more things clearly appear; one, that a part of the plan of the faction in fomenting it was to ascribe to England a connection with it, and a share in fomenting it. The other, the positive secret agency of France. In the fifteenth paragraph of it Fauchet says, " That it was found necessary *to disguise the*

"*views of the insurgents, and to attribute to them* "*the design of uniting themselves to England.*" But this is proved by M. Fauchet's own words, and by the expeditions against Spain, an ally of England, planned by the same description of people, and arranged in correspondence with the insurrection, to have been a falsehood. The purpose of attacking Louisiana and Florida was relinquished as soon as Spain withdrew from her alliance with England and ceased to be the enemy of France; and Washington was put in possession of intercepted letters by which it appeared evident that those intended expeditions were known to, and approved by several members of the national convention; M. Genet, with the rank of Major-General, being appointed Commander in Chief of all the forces raised for France on the continent of America.

After such a convincing proof of the pernicious effects produced by the democratic societies, and after escaping from such imminent dangers as those with which the country was threatened, it would naturally enough be expected that the American people would have felt a jealousy of such bodies of men, and exerted themselves to discourage them. So long before as the year 1786, Washington, in the season of retirement, writing to a nephew of his, in whom he took a particular interest, and who had engaged with the ardour of youth in a political society, stated his objections to such institutions, and the abominable abuses of which they are susceptible, in the most clear and

forcible terms. The letter is still extant. On the present occasion he delivered his opinions respecting them very freely to his confidential friends. "The "real people," said he, "occasionally assembled "to express their sentiments on political sub- "jects, ought never to be confounded with perma- "nent self-appointed societies, usurping the right "to controul the authorities of the State, and to "dictate to public opinion. While the former is "entitled to respect, the latter is incompatible with "all government, and must either sink into ge- "neral disesteem or finally overturn the established "order of things." In a letter to Mr. Jay, too, he said, "That the self-created societies who have "spread themselves over this country have been "labouring incessantly to sow the seeds of dis- "trust, jealousy, and, of course, discontent, ho- "ping thereby to effect some revolution in the go- "vernment, is not unknown to you. That they "have been the fomenters of the western dis- "turbances admits of no doubt in the mind of "any one who will examine their conduct. But "fortunately they have precipitated a crisis for "which they were not prepared, and thereby un- "folded views which will, I trust, effect their an- "nihilation sooner than it might have happened. "An occasion has also been afforded for the people "of this country to shew their abhorrence of the "result, and their attachment to the constitution "and laws; for I believe that five times the num- "ber of militia that were required would have come

"forward in support of them had it been ne-
"cessary."

In his speech to Congress, after praising the alacrity with which persons came forward in support of the laws and government, Washington said—

"To every description of citizens, let praise be
"given. But let them persevere in their affection-
"ate vigilance over that precious depository of
"American happiness, the constitution of the United
"States. And when in the calm moments of re-
"flection they shall have retraced the origin and pro-
"gress of the insurrection, let them determine
"whether it has not been fomented by combinations
"of men who, careless of consequences, and disre-
"garding the unerring truth that those who rouse
"cannot always appease a civil convulsion, have
"disseminated from an ignorance or perversion
"of facts, suspicions, jealousies, and accusations
"of the whole government."

In the Senate, a clause in their answer to the President's speech struck at the democratic factious societies. "Our anxiety," said they "aris-
"ing from the licentious and open resistance of the
"laws in the western counties of Pennsylvania
"has been increased by the proceedings of certain
"self-created societies relative to the laws and ad-
"ministration of the government. Proceedings, in
"our apprehension, founded in political error; cal-
"culated, if not intended, to disorganize our govern-

" ment, and which, by inspiring delusive hopes of " support, have been instrumental in misleading our " fellow-citizens in the scene of insurrection." This clause was warmly opposed. But was carried without amendment or alteration.

But it was in the House of Representatives the faction arrayed their heaviest forces against government. The opposition party was the more powerful, and as the leaders of it became every day more and more devoted to France and French principles, their dislike of the President was of course proportionate. His defeat of the western insurrection, and his attack upon their jacobinic system of political societies, rankled like poison in their bosoms. They could not forgive his neutrality; they could not forgive his sending Mr. Jay to England; they could not forgive him his obstinate maintenance of the laws against the mob, and his resolute support of his personal and official dignity; they could not forgive his vigorous retention of the character of an American, and of his local patriotism. In a word, they could not forgive him that he was not an apostate to his country and a prostitute to France—that he could not like them melt meretriciously into the all polluting arms of the butcher government of Paris.

The Senate, in addition to their congratulations upon the fortunate termination of the western insurrection, and their warm approbation of his conduct in it, extolled his temperate, just, and firm policy to foreign nations. On both of these subjects the

opposition side of the house resisted every tribute of praise that was attempted to be offered to the President's conduct. Mr. Madison was openly at the head of the opposing faction, and he and they triumphed. But their's was the triumph only of a moment. The public eye, though it might occasionally be closed, was not entirely deprived of sight. The late alarming circumstances had struck the people like an electric shock, and roused them to a sense of the dangers that surrounded them, and to a conviction of the mischievous tendency as well as wicked intentions of the societies. The public in general began to view them in the same light as the President viewed them, and execrating and abhorring the western insurrection, they could not fail to execrate and abhor the Gallic societies whose work it was. Their triumph in the House of Representatives, therefore, availed them but little. They began to sink and die away, under the intense effect of public hatred and suspicion, and they were drooping away in a galloping decline when news arrived from France which struck them all at once into annihilation. Robespierre, the guilty Robespierre, the parent, the patron, the supporter of the affiliating clubs, was put to death: the reign of terror was at an end *(pro tempore)* in France, and the enormous power of the clubs fell along with him, their meetings being prohibited. As an inevitable consequence, the democratic societies of America, which were grafted upon and fed by the great French jacobin stock, were dissolved as soon

as intelligence arrived of those of France being denounced by the people of that country.

> For when the date of Nock was out,
> Off dropt the sympathetic snout.

The sentence and execution of those in Europe were the sentence and execution of these in America. They were turned off from the same platform, and, like resolute robbers, rendered callous by despair, they both died hard.

CHAPTER IV.

CONTENTS.

General Hamilton resigns the office of Secretary of the Treasury and is succeeded by Mr. Wolcott—The Secretary of War (General Knox) resigns, and is succeeded by Mr. Pickering—British Treaty received—Violently opposed—Ratified by the Senate, and by the President—Happy effects of the President's firmness upon that occasion—New French Minister arrives—The demand of the Representatives for the documents on Jay's negotiation refused by Washington—Washington declines being elected a third time—Mr. Jefferson's views examined—Washington's valedictory address—Insolent and artful proceedings of France, her Minister, and her American faction, to get Mr. Jefferson elected President—General Pinckney sent Envoy to Paris—Directory refuse to receive him—Mr. John Adams elected President, and Mr. Jefferson Vice-President—Spirited conduct of the new President towards France—Washington dies.

ABOUT this time the Cabinet was deprived of its greatest ornament, and the country of the counsels and ministerial talents of its most able statesman, by the resignation of the illustrious General Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury. The

hatred in which he was held by the democratic faction and their chief, Mr. Jefferson, supersedes all necessity of eulogium. In the service of his country he impoverished himself and his family, having, during his continuance in office, wasted a great part of the fruits produced by his former professional labours, while he was slandered by the profligate part of the nation as a man who had enriched himself by official peculation. Of his purity it may be sufficient to say that he was compelled to leave his public station to make for his family a suitable provision, which the penurious emoluments of office did not afford him the means to accomplish. Mr. Oliver Wolcott, a gentleman of very considerable talents, of approved integrity and intimate knowledge of the financial department, who had served for some time as Comptroller, and enjoyed the confidence and opinion of Mr. Hamilton in an eminent degree, was appointed to the vacant office.

General Knox, the Secretary of War, too, was soon after compelled to resign his office by the scantiness of the salary, which fell far short of a compensation for his labours, or of a suitable provision for his support. As well as General Hamilton, he carried with him into private life the respect of every good man in the Union, and the affection and unalterable friendship of Washington. He was succeeded by Colonel Pickering, a name with which the reader will become more familiar in the course of this history.

During these transactions, Mr. Jay had been employed in London negotiating with the British Ministers, and had agreed to a treaty which was signed by Lord Grenville and him on the nineteenth of November, 1794. On that subject, he wrote a private letter to the President, in which, after speaking generally of the treaty, he says, "To do more was "impossible. I ought not to conceal from you "that the confidence reposed in your personal "character was visible and useful through the "negotiation. If there is not a good disposition in "the far greater part of the Cabinet towards us, "I am exceedingly mistaken. I do not mean an "ostensible and temporising, but a real good dis-"position. I wish it may have a fair trial."

The multiplicity of matters that were to be discussed, the various well-grounded causes of complaint which existed on both sides, with the criminations and recriminations which had arisen from them, rendered it an intricate and difficult business. The reproaches which had been constantly used by a large portion of the people of America against Great Britain, and the exasperation to which the French faction had inflamed the public mind, rendered it highly probable that a failure in adjustment would be followed by war, and that in the ardour of the faction to go to war with England, any treaty that could be made would be disliked and opposed. The ministers on both sides were well aware of this, and entered upon the business with mutual dispositions to remove every little vexatious embarrassment. Mr. Jay particularly keeping in

sight the admirable system of neutrality laid down by Washington, felt great anxiety to bring matters to an amicable issue.

The appointment of Mr. Jay had brought upon the President the unqualified censure of the whole of those who were devoted to the French as a faction, or had been from credulity and ignorance sucked into the vortex of their opinions. It had completely defeated their great scheme of involving America in war with England just as it was at the very brink of being accomplished. It had thwarted all their opinions, desires and expectations. It had opened a fair channel of communication between the councils of England and those of America, and thereby threatened to frustrate the schemes of the faction, by removing all the obstructions to amicable accommodation which they had thrown in its way.

The commercial regulations brought forward by the faction in the year 1793, and 1794, those choice offsprings of Mr. Jefferson's head and heart, midwifed into the world by his congressional accoucheur, Mr. Madison, though they were held forth ostensibly as a plan to compel Great Britain to enter into a treaty with America, had for their real object, a war with that country, and were well understood to be introduced, not for the purpose of extending or securing the commerce of America, to which Mr. Jefferson was known to be an avowed enemy, but as the means of thwarting and irritating Great Britain to acts of retaliation,

which would either lead to war, or at the least increase the animosities of the Americans to that country so far as to transfer the bulk of their trade from England to France. Those very men knew, and none better than Mr. Jefferson, that Mr. Jay was, on unshaken principles of patriotism, resolute in keeping his country to Washington's system of neutrality, that he was averse to war with Great Britain, and that he looked with an eye of suspicion and apprehension on the murderous tyrants of France by the faction called "The Friends of Liberty."—They moreover knew that he was a negotiator of great ability, as his country had before fortunately experienced, and that if any man was likely to rescue the United States out of the ruinous gulph of a war with Great Britain, and a consequent offensive and defensive alliance with France, it was Mr. Jay. They therefore endeavoured to convince the people that the appointment of that gentleman was merely an expedient to serve the purposes of Great Britain, and injure their faithful friend and ally, the Republic of France; that the appointment was unconstitutional, Mr. Jay being Chief Justice; and that the President knowing it to be so, had been guilty of that violation, because he knew that no other man could be found so devoted to Great Britain and so likely to sacrifice to her the interests and liberties of America. Still they flattered themselves that nothing definitive would be accomplished, and that at the worst it would end in a patchwork compromise which they should be able to overturn with great ease. Nothing, therefore, could exceed

their fury when the intelligence reached them of a treaty having been actually signed. The far greater number (some say in the proportion of more than four to one) were under the controul of the faction, and those began to pour forth such torrents of abuse and misrepresentation, that the people were confounded, and already began to be outrageous against the treaty, even before they knew the contents of it.

As the time of Mr. Jay's return approached, the clamours grew more and more violent. It was the seventh of March when the treaty was received by the President. Washington, aware of the evil dispositions and the indefatigable vigilance of the faction, in order to prevent its provisions becoming a matter of discussion abroad, and the people's minds from being preoccupied with prejudices respecting it, till it had received the sanction or rejection of the Senate, resolved not to divulge its contents to any one but that cabinet member in whose department it lay, and on whose secrecy, honour, and fidelity he thought he could depend. To Mr. Randolph, the Secretary of State alone, he communicated the whole of its contents, with the most strict injunction to conceal them from every person upon earth, without a single exception, till he should be specially permitted to divulge them. But to the great astonishment of the President, and of all those who fondly imagined that treachery could not exist in the heart of the cabinet, a regular attack upon the treaty was commenced in two days after, in the shape of an essay, being the first number of a series,

and appeared in a democratic paper edited by a violent jacobin and partizan of France, of the name of Oswald. Though there was no other channel through which it could, by any possibility, have transpired, Randolph solemnly protested his innocence. But whatever weight his naked protestations might have had against such evidence as at the time existed in the President's mind, or in the opinion of the public, they were little believed when the whole of his conduct came to be detected and divulged as heretofore alluded to, by the intercepted letter of Fauchet. Though the democratic essayist did all he could do to conceal the furtive means by which he got possession of the treaty, it was apparent on the face of his writings that they were clandestinely obtained. For he commenced with stating that it was REPORTED that the treaty had arrived, and then says, "I "doubt not that the leading features of it have "been described by the British prints," (in which prints no such thing as a description of it had been at the time attempted) "and by the private "communication WE have received from Great "Britain." Though it is certain that the British minister, Mr. Hammond, himself, never saw the treaty, nor was acquainted with its contents till two months afterwards. The principles of France had already infected and struck at the moral vitality of the Union; the plague had reached even as high as a cabinet minister, and Mr. Randolph had became a convert to the new democratic doctrine that THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS, however villanous.

Nothing can be imagined more wicked or abominable than the abuse which immediately followed this paper from every democratic print in the Union. While they were poisoning the minds of the people against the treaty, they revived every old difference and dispute with England, and inflamed every prejudice and animosity against the conduct of the British both before and during the revolutionary war, and cast every term of the most low and obscene reproach upon every branch of the British government. A writer whose only approximation to truth was his assuming the appropriate name of FRANKLIN, exclaimed in one of his pieces—"Citizens! freemen of a favoured and happy land, "arouse from your slumbers! storms and tempests "menace your peaceful buildings—prepare to avert "them! *Your inveterate and implacable enemy is "seeking to obtain a footing amongst you.*—Chase "the conspirator away! Remember that where "despotism and corruption obtain an establishment, "there liberty is insecure—and let it be never ef-"faced from your minds that Great Britain fought "to enslave you—that she is the enemy of freedom—"that she is at this moment waging a cruel war "against it"—(meaning against jacobinism, the murderer Robespierre and his gang)—"and that no ef-"fort of her's will remain untried to extirpate it "from the earth. She issued her piratical mandates, "urged on the savages by the mouth of Dor-"chester, to butcher our citizens, and desolate our "frontier, and by her intrigues let loose a band of "Algerine robbers, *barbarous almost as Britons*, to

"prey upon our commerce, and make slaves of "freemen. Citizens! Sovereigns of a free country! "lend an attentive ear to the treaty. Every thing pre- "cious to freemen is implicated in it.—Regard it "with a jealous eye!—Remember that Great "Britain is a monarchy—that she is famed for cor- "ruption—and that we are a Republic. Let the "truth of the adage be indelibly impressed "upon your minds, that evil communication cor- "rupts good manners, and that you will ever ab- "hor a connection with tyranny, profligacy, bru- "tality, and corruption."

The most gross abuse of the President, Mr. Jay, and the treaty, was mixed with that of Great Britain, and the effect of these nefarious publications was such, that the lower class of people, who were incapable of forming a judgment of the truth or falsehood of them, were wrought up to a state of fury little short of madness. In Boston they destroyed a British vessel without any pretence whatsoever, but that she was British, and had arms on board for defence—then published incendiary handbills, calling upon all good citizens to attack several English vessels that were lying at the wharves, and showed such a riotous determination that the militia was called out by the Governor, and a proclamation issued, for discovering and apprehending those who were concerned in the disturbances.

After debating upon it for a great part of the month of June, the Senate ratified the treaty, with the exception of a clause respecting the intercourse with the West India islands, to which there was

a just and insuperable objection, owing entirely to the existence of a fact of which Mr. Jay had not been informed. The President himself was not without an opinion that the treaty contained some objectionable provisions, but he thought them greatly overbalanced by its advantages. Nor did Mr. Jay himself, though he knew that is was the best that could be obtained, consider it such as he would willingly have obtained. Mr. Thomas Pinckney, the Ambassador at London, whose honourable name must forever sanction any assertion he will make, said in a letter to the Secretary of State, that he had witnessed the great difficulties which had occurred in settling the general articles, and he could fairly say that as little had been conceded, and as much had been obtained for the United States, by Mr. Jay, as could be expected. Yet no sooner was it ratified by the Senate, than that body was violently attacked by the writers of the French faction. Nay, it was openly menaced for daring to close the doors against the mob during the discussion.* "Crowned heads, (said they,) who are "machinating designs subversive of the rights of "man, and the happiness of nations, may well co-"ver with an impenetrable veil their dark trans-"actions; but Republics ought to have no secrets. "In Republics, the functionaries being the ser-"vants of the people, acting solely for their benefit,

* It will hereafter be seen what the practice of the faction itself was in this respect, when it got into power.

" ought to transact all national affairs in open day."
" The SENATE (said another) have bargained
" away all your privileges for a 'mess of pottage.'
" That perfidious, corrupting, and corrupted na-
" tion whom you vanquished with your sword,
" are endeavouring to vanquish you with their usual,
" but alas! too successful weapon, *British gold.*
" Your only remaining hope is the President.—
" Remonstrate with coolness, but spirit, against
" his signing a treaty which will be the death-
" warrant of your trade* and entail beggary on us
" and our posterity forever."

The truth is, that their hostility to this or any other treaty with Great Britain, was predetermined. No possible arrangement, no adjustment, however favourable to America, if it promised to produce friendly intercourse between the two countries, would satisfy the faction; and at the day of the writing of this, (October, 1808,) the same principle actuates the same faction, sways the sceptre, and has brought the country and its commerce to the verge of ruin. Nay, the more favourable the treaty had been to the United States the more objectionable it would appear to the faction, as bidding more fair to frustrate the views of France. They now let out their opinions and wishes without reserve, and insisted that the forming *any* treaty of amity at all with England, was a degrading insult to the American people; a pusillanimous surrender of their

* Good souls! they did not think of an embargo then.

honour, and an underhand, insidious injury to France. In a word, it was a desertion of that country whose friendship had given independence to the United States. It was a reparation for wrongs, they said, not a connection with the faithless and corrupt court of St. James's, that ought to have been the object of the mission. The return of the envoy, therefore, without that reparation, they considered as a virtual surrender of the claim. And it was imputed as a crime to the government and its negotiator, that they had done more than demand immediate and unconditional reparation of the wrongs sustained by the United States. Thus determinately bent as the faction were, against any negotiation or amicable adjustment at all with Great Britain, it is not surprising that the treaty and its ratification by the Senate irritated them extremely. But that amongst a civilized people, professing to be governed by laws, such stupid, malignant and barbarous outrages upon truth and decorum, upon laws and government, should be committed, or endured, will, if believed, serve to astonish and to disgust posterity.

The object now was to bend Washington to their purposes, and to make him give up what was supposed to be his determination. His firmness was too well known to allow them the slightest expectation of success by the operation of ordinary means. They therefore resorted to the assembling of town meetings; and the democrats of Boston with that promptitude for political bustle which has ever dis-

tinguished them, led up the dance of disaffection. Many others followed; and all the butcher's boys, taylors, coblers and tinkers in the Union were called in to decide at once in a brawling public assembly, jointly and severally, upon the merits and defects of a political instrument upon which a great and learned statesman would perhaps feel diffident to decide, after long and laborious investigation, and many days deep reflection in the retirement of his closet. Those who knew the most, were of course the most distrustful of their own judgment, and from diffidence kept aloof; while the ignorant, and consequently the most presumptuous, the intemperate, and the corrupt, boldly stept forward according to their custom, assumed the name of the people, and in the most unqualified terms condemned the treaty, which they passionately denounced for not containing concessions in terms of expression as well as in substance; spurning from them with contempt and the strongest manifestations of hatred, the expressions of amity customary in treaties.

There was one deed of those enlightened free citizens which it would be an injury to the body to omit, it is so truly characteristic of them, their principles, their education, their feelings, their understandings, and their taste. It may stand as a landmark in the great map of democratic meanness and depravity.

"*Richmond, July* 31.

"NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, that in case the treaty entered into by that damned arch traitor, John Jay, with the British tyrant should be ratified, a petition will be presented to the next General Assembly of Virginia, at their next session, praying that the said State may recede from the Union, and be left under the government and protection of one hundred thousand free and independent Virginians.

"P. S. As it is the wish of the people of the said State to enter into a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with any other State or States of the present Union, who are averse to returning again under the galling yoke of Great Britain, the printers of the (at present) United States are requested to publish the above notification."

What shews the opposition to this treaty most manifestly to be the effects of a fondness for France, and not of real feeling for America is, that the treaty was in reality highly advantageous to the United States, and almost the reverse to Great Britain; and that while the French faction on this side of the Atlantic pronounced it to be humiliating to the United States, Mr. Fox, the great leader of the opposition in the House of Commons, vehemently insisted upon it that it was humiliating to Great Britain. A most unfortunate treaty it must have been, surely, which disgraced both the parties to it.

At New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston, (South Carolina,) as well as in Boston, meetings were held, which expressed their disap-

probation of the treaty. That of Philadelphia, in its address, observed the most perfect decorum and respect to the President; but the mob acted differently, paraded before the doors of the British minister, the British consul, and Mr. Bingham who voted in the Senate for its ratification, and at the door of each, burned a copy of the treaty. As the meeting of Charleston (South Carolina) was but eight days after that of Boston, the latter could not have given occasion to the former. It was therefore concluded, and the President was of that opinion, that the whole country was, by a preconcerted arrangement, prepared to blaze out at once in all its parts, so soon as intelligence should be received of the ratification of the treaty by the Senate.

Washington was at Baltimore, on his way to Mount Vernon, when he received the resolutions of the Bostonian meeting, which were inclosed to him in a letter from the Selectmen of that town. Never did human being evince more magnanimity and firmness than he did on the occasion. He saw the efforts that were making to daunt and controul him in the exercise of his constitutional functions: He perceived by the promptness and vigour, and nearly simultaneous expression with which the sentiments of the factions were uttered, that they were intended to be imposed upon the world, as the cool, deliberate and collected judgment of the people: he saw that in numerous essays, the treaty was critically sifted, and every argument and every persuasive which could influence the opinions, affect the judgments, appeal to the prejudices, or enlist the passions of the people

against it were urged with all the subtility of ingenious fraud, and in the glowing language of popular declamation. He perceived, too, with no less concern, that the counter-efforts of the friends of the measure were urged as warmly, and with no less a degree of reference to the passions of the people. This controversy filled him with deep reflection and serious sorrow; but it did not move him in any way, nor in the least alter the decision he had resolved to make, rendering him on the contrary, more resolute in his mode of proceeding. He determined to hasten his return to Philadelphia, observing in a letter to a friend, in which he announced that determination, that there never was a crisis which more loudly called for wisdom, temperateness, and firmness. "For," added he, "there is too "much reason to believe, from the pains that have "been taken before, at, and since the advice of the Se- "nate respecting the treaty, that the prejudices against "it are more extensive than is generally imagined. "How should it be otherwise? when no stone has "been left unturned, that could impress on the minds "of the people the most arrant misrepresentations "of facts: that their rights have not only been ne- "glected, but absolutely sold: that there are no "reciprocal advantages in the treaty: that the bene- "fits are all on the side of Great Britain: and, what "seems to have more weight with them than all the "rest, and has been most pressed, that the treaty "is made with the design to oppress the French Re- "public, in open violation of our treaty with that "nation, and contrary to every principle of gratitude "and sound policy. In time, when passion shall

" have yielded to sober reason, the current may pos-
" sibly turn; but in the mean while, this government
" in relation to France and England, may be com-
" pared to a ship between Scylla and Charybdis. If
" the treaty is ratified, the partisans of the French
" (or rather of war and confusion) will excite them
" to hostile measures, or at least to unfriendly senti-
" ments—if it is not, there is no foreseeing all the
" consequences that may follow as it respects Great
" Britain.

" It is not to be inferred from hence that I am, or
" shall be, disposed to quit the ground I have taken,
" unless circumstances more imperious than have
" yet come to my knowledge, should compel it; for
" there is but one straight course, and that is to seek
" truth, and pursue it steadily. But these things are
" mentioned to shew that a close investigation of the
" subject is, more than ever, necessary. In a matter
" so interesting and pregnant of consequences as this
" treaty, every step should be explored before it is
" taken, and every word weighed before it is uttered
" or delivered in writing."

No situation could be more critical or perplexing than that of the President at this time. One of the dearest objects of his wishes was to see this country settled in a state of amity with the world; and towards the accomplishment of this, he saw before him a treaty which put an end to the long and inveterate disputes with Great Britain, and promised to close all animosities in that quarter with an amicable termination. On the other hand, he observed

a large portion of the people inflamed against it, while his artful Secretary of State, in whom he reposed great confidence, exhorted him to reject it—declared it would be a just cause of offence to the government of France, which was continually represented as the faithful ally of America, and was the favourite of the people. Just while his mind was kept in a state of uneasy fluctuation by these opposite considerations, the intercepted dispatches of M. Fauchet were put into the hands of Mr. Wolcott, and he communicated the whole to the President.* All his doubts were now at an end.—The spell under which he had so long been held by the artifice of the treacherous Randolph, was now completely broken. A new vista all at once opened to his view, and a host of extraordinary and unexpected reflections rushed upon him at once, as from an ambuscade. The man in whom he had confided his inmost thoughts, on whose fidelity he securely reposed, whose opinion he had often made his guide, and who, in the present instance, first raised doubts in his mind respecting the treaty, and had arrested his hand from ratifying it—that man, on a sudden appeared before him stripped naked of his disguises—the mask torn from his face, a palpable traitor and hypocrite—the head, confessed, of a malignant faction opposed to his government—revealing the counsels, and unfolding the secret views of his cabinet to a foreign mi-

* See page 216.

nister, and even solicitous to truck the country's weal for money, which, if granted, would have placed in that minister's hands the power of throwing it into all the horrors, or rather (France being concerned in it) the certain ruin of a civil war. He saw that the advice of that perfidious man was a mere lure to beguile him imperceptibly into a snare, to frustrate the treaty, to plunge the Union into a war with Great Britain, and finally to give it up, bound hand and foot, into the all-destroying clutches of France. He turned from the traitor with indignation and horror. Mr. Wolcott and Mr. Pickering took advantage of the opportunity it afforded, to urge him to ratify the treaty, and he resolved to do so. The next day a council was called for the express purpose of taking the subject of the treaty into final consideration. Mr. Randolph, who was summoned to attend as if nothing had happened, vehemently opposed the ratification; while the other two Secretaries pressed the expediency of it with all their might; and the penetrating Washington sat listening to the debate, sifting the treacherous words of Randolph, scanning his countenance, and reading the duplicity of his heart in every inflection of his face, and every subtility of his argument. Without assigning any reasons to Randolph, the President ratified the treaty.

Nor was the perfidy of Randolph the only circumstance on which the intercepted letter of Fauchet served to throw a light. In it Washington plainly discovered what the purposes were of the

faithful ally France, and what he had to expect from her friendship. He detected the minister of that country writing a letter which, from the first syllable of it to the last, breathed the most treacherous hostility to the federal government—caballing with the leading men in the State—reviling his administration—representing him as a monarchist—approving of, and shewing that he encouraged an open rebellion which raged in the Union, regretting its want of success, and lamenting that he had not friends at hand to nourish and keep it alive. And all this done by the minister, and addressed to the rulers of a nation, professing the sincerest respect for himself and the United States, and even claiming, on the strength of that friendship, a right to the aid of the country against a power then in amity with it. All this clearly convinced the President that he had nothing worse to apprehend from France, or from the friends of France—that they had done their worst, and that with such a perfidious people, open war itself would be preferable to their wicked treacherous intrigues.

In truth, there is hardly to be found a part of this great man's history in which he appears to more advantage than in his mission of Mr. Jay, and his subsequent conduct on the ratification of the treaty. That he loved popularity as much as so very wise and good a man could love it, is certain; but it was not the vulgar or vicious love of men of selfish ambition. He loved popularity for the sake of the people. He wished to possess their affections and confidence, not for his own purposes, but to

employ them as a weapon in their defence, and as a shield for their protection against the many enemies which he had to encounter for them, in their popular idols, in their demagogues, and above all, in their own blind and infatuating passions. Their safety and happiness were his objects—popularity his instrument for effecting them. For the sake of the objects, he dearly tendered the instrument; but for that very reason would not sacrifice the former to obtain the latter. In the present case, he resolved, if possible, to save the people at the hazard or even at the certain loss of his popularity. He stood alone.—He had now no man, or body of men to share the odium with him; none to take a part with him in the struggle which was likely to ensue with the corruption of the chiefs, the outrages of the factions, or the madness of the multitude. He had none "to meet his enemies in the gate." He hesitated, because he feared every thing that was evil for his country from the enemies of the measure.—He feared that the accursed rulers of France would take advantage of the spirit that was at work industriously circulating a belief that the treaty was made to favour Great Britain at the expense of France, the consequences of which would be eternal dissension, perhaps civil war, and a voluntary resignation of the people to all the plans, however ruinous, which the cabinet of Paris could devise, and their agents, the democratic faction in America, contrive to carry into effect.

He accompanied the ratification with a strong memorial against the exceptionable provision before

alluded to, having communicated to the Select-men of Boston his intentions in the following letter—a communication worthy of his exalted character.

"GENTLEMEN,

"In every act of administration I have sought the "happiness of my fellow-citizens. My system for "the attainment of this object has uniformly been "to overlook all personal, local, partial consider-"ations; to contemplate the United States as one "great whole; to confide, that sudden impressions, "when erroneous, would yield to candid reflections—"and to consult only the substantial and permanent "interests of our country.

"Nor have I departed from this line of conduct, "on the occasion which has produced the reso-"lutions contained in your letter of the 13th "instant.

"Without a predilection for my own judgment, "I have weighed with attention every argument "which has, at any time, been brought into view. "But the Constitution is the guide which I never "can abandon. It has assigned to the President "the power of making treaties, with the advice and "consent of the Senate. It was doubtless sup-"posed that these two branches of government "would combine without passion, and with the "best means of information, those facts and prin-"ciples upon which the success of foreign rela-"tions will always depend; that they ought not to "substitute for their own conviction the opinions "of others; or to seek truth through any channel

"but that of a temperate and well informed investi-
"gation.

"Under this persuasion I have resolved on the
"manner of executing the duty before me. To
"the high responsibility attached to it I freely sub-
"mit; and you, gentlemen, are at liberty to make
"these sentiments known as the grounds of my
"procedure. While I feel the most lively gratitude
"for the instances of approbation from my country,
"I can no otherwise deserve it than by obeying
"the dictates of my conscience.

"With due respect,

"I am, Gentlemen, your obedient,

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

To investigate the machinations of the wicked, and hunt the perpetrators through all the involutions of their complicated schemes and the intricate labyrinths of their concealments, is a mortifying task, but still it is a duty which ought not to be declined. To get rid of it will be pleasing.—Here, then, we will bring the stratagems and wily perfidy of Mr. Randolph, with their consequences, to a close. Happy if we could look forward with a hope that this were to be the last case of criminality of that kind which we had to discuss.

The treaty was ratified on the 14th August. On the 15th, the President still observing the most serene silence to Randolph on the subject of the intercepted letter, invited him to a dinner with a chosen party, and placed him at the foot of the table. On the 18th he treated him with the same

hospitality. On the 19th, Randolph called upon the President, who was then engaged in conference with the two other Secretaries, Mr. Pickering and Mr. Wolcott. On his entering the room, the President rose from his chair with a more than ordinary formality, and his example was followed by both the Secretaries. After a few words of conversation, he drew from his pocket the intercepted letter, and with an air of severe and dignified solemnity, presented it to him, desiring him to read, and as far as he could, to explain it. After some few words, the President perceiving that Randolph was confused, desired him to step into another room and consider the matter, while he conversed with Mr. Pickering and Mr. Wolcott. Randolph retired, and having revolved the matter, returned to the President's room, and telling him that he would put his remarks upon paper, retired, and soon after wrote to the President, resigning his office, promising an explanation, and desiring that until an inquiry should be instituted, the affair should remain secret. To this the President returned the following answer.

"Sir,

"Your resignation of the office of Secretary of "State is received.

"Candour induces me to give you, in a few words, "the following narrative of facts.—The letter from "M. Fauchet, with the contents of which you were "made acquainted yesterday, was, as you supposed, "an intercepted one. It was sent by Lord Grenville to Mr. Hammond; by him put into the hands

" of the Secretary of the Treasury; by him shewn " to the Secretary at War and the Attorney-General " and a translation thereof was made by the former " for me.

" At the time Mr. Hammond delivered the letter, " he requested of Mr. Wolcott an attested copy, " which was accordingly made by Mr. Thornton, " his late Secretary; and which is understood to re- " main at present with Mr. Bond. Whether it is " known to others I am unable to decide.

" Whilst you are in pursuit of means to remove " the strong suspicions arising from the letter, no " disclosure of its contents shall be made by me; " and I will enjoin the same on the public officers " who are acquainted with the purport of it; unless " something shall appear to render an explanation " necessary on the part of government, of which I " will be the judge."

After this he wrote to the President, desiring an inspection of a letter of his, (the President's,) and published in the papers an extract of the letter desiring it. By this stroke of policy he flattered himself that he had reduced Washington to a dilemma from which he would not be able to extricate himself. He thought that the paper he desired would be refused, and that in that case the public would believe that it contained something to acquit him, and criminate the President; while, if it should be granted, he hoped to twist it into some shape of new interpretation that would render the head of the government as much suspected as himself. Washington did not

hesitate what course to take, but answered him in these words:

"It is not difficult to perceive what your objects "are; but that you may have no cause to com- "plain of the withholding any paper (however pri- "vate and confidential) which you shall think neces- "sary, in a case of so serious a nature, I have direct- "ed that you should have the inspection of my let- "ter of the 22d July, agreeably to your request: "And you are at full liberty to publish, without re- "serve, any and every private and confidential letter "I ever wrote you; nay, more, every word I ever "uttered to, or in your presence, from whence you "can derive any advantage to your justification."

Perhaps a more splendid instance of a soul fearless, because convinced of innocence, has never appeared. It gives to a man who had been the depository of his secret purposes, and with whom he had been for years in habits of the most unreserved communication, (that man too, to his knowledge, meditating to do him every injury,) unbounded liberty to reveal every thing that ever he had written or said in his presence; what a contrast does this form with the trembling struggles, and plunges of the guilty being to whom it was addressed!

In any other country but America, the people would expect to see such a base act of delinquency punished. Under no government but one overawed by democracy, could such a crime pass with impunity. But Mr. Randolph received no other punishment than the detection of his guilt, the disappoint-

ment of his criminal purposes, the contempt of mankind, and the company of his own conscience.

The result of every act of this great man, particularly upon great and trying emergencies, always shewed the soundness of his policy, and the great wisdom of the mind that dictated it. Scarcely had he come forth in this resolute and dignified form, when the tempest which raged over the country began to be lulled, and sunk away gradually into a calm. The confidence which the people at large had in the virtues and wisdom of their august Chief Magistrate was not to be shaken by all the efforts of the factious; and the consequence of every new proof on their part of that confidence was, on his, some new proof of his unquestionable title to it. The greatest paradox in the political affairs of America is, that possessing such a multitude of incontestible proofs of the happy efficacy of his superintending counsel and agency—every day, too, experiencing the benefits and blessings of his virtues, they could endure the practices of those factious disturbers of the peace of the Union, who endeavoured to thwart him, or could hold in popular esteem, men of whose talents, principles, and conduct, a more perfect idea in the abstract cannot be conveyed, than by saying that they were the very reverse of those of Washington. What an anomaly! If the world were searched for a direct glaring contrast to this very object of the respect, affection, and veneration of America, it is that very man who has now for eight years swayed the country by his personal influence and popularity. The people being no longer inflamed by the burning invectives

and seditious practices of the malcontents against the treaty, the nation had time to settle down into a posture of propriety, and to give out their real sentiments; notions of a more just and moderate kind began to prevail, and a general change of opinion appeared to take place in every part of the Union. General Knox, the late Secretary of War, having communicated to Washington this change in the eastern States, that great man expressed in strong terms his lively pleasure upon the occasion, and added—

"Next to a conscientious discharge of my public "duties, to carry along with me the approbation of "my constituents, would be the highest gratification "of which my mind is susceptible. But the latter "being secondary, I cannot make the former yield "to it, unless some criterion more infallible than "partial (if they be not party) meetings can be dis-"covered as the touchstone of public sentiment. "If any person on earth could, or the Great Power "above, would erect the standard of infallibility in "political opinions, no being that inhabits this ter-"restrial globe would resort to it with more eager-"ness than myself, so long as I remain a servant of "the public. But as I have hitherto found no better "guide than upright intentions and close investiga-"tion, I shall adhere to them while I keep the watch; "leaving it to those who will come after me, to ex-"plore new ways if they like, or think them better.

"The temper of the people of this State, parti-"cularly the southern parts of it, and of South Caro-"lina and Georgia, as far as it is discoverable from "the several meetings and resolutions which have

"been published, is adverse to the treaty with Great "Britain. And yet I have much doubt whether the "great body of yeomanry have formed any opinion "on the subject, and whether, if their sense could "be fairly taken, nine-tenths of them would not ad-"vocate the measure. But with such abominable "misrepresentations as appear in most of the pro-"ceedings, it is not to be wondered at, that unin-"formed minds should be affrighted at the dreadful "consequences which are predicted, and which they "are taught to expect from such a diabolical instru-"ment."

While the real people felt thus, the faction swelled with increased venom, and in the dark recesses of their hearts, there rankled the most vindictive malice to the President and his adherents; though the love and veneration in which he was held by the people at large rendered it prudent to be on the reserve, and to bury in the silence of their bosoms the curses which they felt, but against him would not utter. Through the filthy channels of an abused press, the choler and the venom of the faction was, before Mr. Jay's mission, poured forth in open calumny upon the federal party, and in sly, cautious and cowardly insinuations against the President himself. In the transports of fury into which that mission and the treaty threw the faction, they occasionally so far exceeded the usual bounds, with respect to the Chief Magistrate, that the rules before prescribed to them seemed to be broken through gradually, till way was made for the introduction of more indecent attacks. Having once overleaped the first barrier, they felt no

repugnance to violate the decorum that was due to his august character, and his ratification of the treaty soon made them reveal their hearts, and give out to public view, feelings and sentiments towards him, which, but a short time before, good men could scarcely be made to believe existed in the nation. The faction now threw aside all reserve, and assailed the character of the man to whose talents and valour they owed it, that they had the power to libel with impunity, and under the abused name of the liberty of the press, assaulted his fame with a virulence not inferior to that with which they could have attacked the meanest defaulter. His military, his civil, his political, his private domestic characters were all arraigned, and he was asserted to be destitute of merit, either as a man or a soldier. From the cells of Robespierre's prison, the infamous Paine libelled him, and, regardless of truth and decency, as well as of his having in his letter to the Abbe Raynal praised him both as a great captain and a man, impeached his character in both.

Washington who though he did not (like the patrons, friends and employers of the faction, the French rulers) employ spies, was not left in ignorance of the names of those to whom he was indebted for the infamous aspersions which had from time to time been thrown out upon him and his adherents. If he did not know who the author was of every essay or paragraph, he knew the authors of some—the instigators, payers and encouragers of all of them, and the patronizers and supporters of the presses that printed, and the printers who sent them into the world. Looking down from the high eminence of his character,

with contempt upon the miserable, malign insects that crawled upon his feet below, and insidiously stung while they endeavoured to bemire him with the slough of their adulation, he disdained to tread upon them, or even to brush them off. In one of his own cabinet counsellors he every day recognized the patron of the National Gazette which was employed in vilifying his measures. The whole lay before him as clearly as the subsequent bounties to the author of the prospect before us, and to the proprietor and editor of the execrable Aurora have since laid his patronage of those publications before the eyes of a contemning disgusted world. Be these pages publicly consigned to the flames by the hands of the common hangman—be the author of them for ever despised, if all those abominable plots and practices of the French faction, if all the injustice to the great Washington, and all the atrocious calumnies, which, through the press have been poured upon Washington and upon the best men in the country be not brought home to the instrumental agency of that man and his minions who now rule the United States.

By those presses so patronized and so supported, by that faction, and with the connivance, if not the encouragement of the persons to whom reference has been made, was the great benefactor of this country—the immaculate Washington, publicly and unblushingly impeached of having drawn from the treasury for his private use, more than the salary annexed to his office. The profligacy of such an accusation must, at that time, have occasioned much surprise. A perseverance in it would then be deemed

incredible if not proved—But to those who have lived to this day, and who, "seeing what they have "seen, see what they now see," it will appear not at all extraordinary. Nothing has been too good for them to attack; nothing too villanous for them to support. It was as natural for the advocates of Robespierre to vilify Washington, as for the purchased slaves of Bonaparte to vilify the virtuous patriots of Spain. The thorough-paced assassins, whether of the press or the poniard delighting in bloodshed—delight most in shedding blood that is rich and noble. Having once made the charge of peculation against Washington, the impostors stood to their ground and undertook to support it by extracts said to be taken from the treasury accounts. The Secretary of the Treasury testified that the appropriations made by the Legislature had never been exceeded. Still the charge was repeated with an effrontery which passed with some for the firmness of conscious rectitude. These monsters of iniquity have made themselves known, and their slander is now received as an unerring proof of its object's excellence. They were not, at the time of making this charge of peculation against Washington, so notoriously ignominious as they have been since, and as they are now. There were some few, therefore, who for the moment, were imposed upon—and the whole body of jacobins, among whom, men at that time of high consideration in the Union, and since that time of higher, are to be reckoned, enraged with him who had frustrated their hellish plans, and glorying in any thing that they thought could tarnish the lustre of his fame, now felt a gleam

of horrid transport break upon their black hearts from the prospect of a complete triumph over his well-earned reputation. With all others, their high opinion of Washington remained unshaken—but even his best friends felt uneasy, from the apprehension that something might have inadvertently happened in the Treasury Department, without his participation or knowledge which might be distorted by the ingenuity of the jacobins, into a shape injurious to him. They did not long remain so. The late Secretary of the Treasury, during whose administration the thing was stated to have occurred, came forward with a full and satisfactory explanation of the fact. From this it appeared that the President was wholly unconcerned and unacquainted with the transaction, which, in itself, was at all events, perfectly just and correct. Nothing could exceed the indignation of the people at this villanous attack upon the man who was his country's greatest benefactor, and would ever stand upon its records as its greatest pride. Silenced, but unabashed and remorseless, the wretches shrunk back into a temporary retreat to collect new poison, to study new modes of imposture, and to plan new schemes of villany.

From the fall of Robespierre, jacobinism declined in France. Even the democrats of England had long been frightened and disgusted with it, and it was only known in Europe as an instrument in the hands of the French rulers, for the effectuation of the great plan of universal empire, which all who successively governed in France, how much soever they differed

in every thing else, kept in sight as their continual, leading object. From that memorable era, jacobinism was, in France, an article in which nobody, however inclined he might be, dared to deal—all they had on hands, therefore, was exported to other countries, with expectation of a profitable return. America was filled with it; and there it has ever since accumulated, in proportion as Europe was emptied of it, till at length the United States became (and has for some time had the misfortune to be looked upon as such from the other side of the Atlantic) the head-quarter's magazine of jacobinism, and the universal receptacle of all the moral and political filth that has been swept off from the corrupted population of Europe, particularly of Ireland and France. It ought to be kept in sight as the best clue to the character of that body of evil, that in the torrent of their fanaticism, the jacobin faction, wherever they spread themselves, discarded all personal and local attachments. They cared, in reality, no more for France than for England, nor for Robespierre than for Pitt, but as the one was favourable to their damnable doctrines, and the other not. Whoever raised the hurricane of rebellion, blew up with his seditious breath, the flames of insurrection, and let loose from its cell (where law should ever keep it imprisoned) the demon of anarchy, he, and only he, has been the object of their affections for the moment; when he has dropt off, they have transferred their affections at once, to his successor; and if that successor had swept him again from the scene by assassination, they would have trampled, in demoniacal transport, upon the

grave of the deceased, and loved the murderer the more ardently for his guilt. Can any one forget the extravagant love which the jacobins of America expressed for Brissot, because Brissot was, at the time, the Chief Priest of jacobinism, and the rights of man? As soon as he was cut off (by the very laws of jacobinism which he had laboured to establish for the destruction of others) the jacobins of America transferred their fealty to his murderers, Robespierre, Marat and Danton, and begrimed them with the same brutal adulation. At length, Robespierre and his copartners in villany, were obliged to resign their necks to the very same guillotine blade which was yet smoking with the blood and carnage of their own miserable victims. Instantly the jacobins who had idolized Robespierre in a greater degree than any of the other villains, because he was more superlatively wicked and sanguinary, seeing that he could no longer serve their turn, guide the storm of destruction, shed more blood, ravage the face of creation, trampled upon the mangled trunk of that idol, and became the worshippers of Barras; but with mitigated zeal, because Barras was less atrocious than his predecessor. Mr. Thomas Paine, of ignominious notoriety, wrote a book to prove that Barras and his council of five, constituted the best government in the world; and to demonstrate which, he endeavoured to prove, which he did as successfully as he ever proved any thing, that there was a peculiar virtue, or rather something of a cabalistic potency in the number five. Unfortunately for Barras, he had made a special compact with a man in the army, of the name of

Bonaparte, to take off his hands by marriage, his cast mistress, who was grown too stale for his palate, and gave him, as the price of his infamy, advancement to high rank in the army. In a short time, this very Bonaparte, regardless of the tenderness that was due to the worthy preoccupier of his better part, and insensible to the calls of gratitude and the pleadings of pity, kicked out Barras, and immediately became the inheritor of the whole stock of jacobin zeal and affection, which had already passed without waste, alteration or diminution, through the hands of Mirabeau, Fayette, Brissot, Marat, Robespierre, Danton and Barras.—As Barras was less idolized than Robespierre, because he was less wicked and murderous, so his fall was less rejoiced at, because he was not murdered. But Bonaparte, being more potent, and to all ruinous efficiency, more diabolical than all of them put together, he now comes in for a greater share than all the rest, of the reverence and affection of the jacobins. "Behold, say the "jacobins of Paris and America—behold, how de- "lightfully, how superlatively diabolical he is! he "destroys every thing—such is his appetite for de- "struction, that he cannot find it in his heart to spare "even us, his friends, admirers and idolaters!!" Should he, too, come to be hurled from his throne, they will rejoice in his fall, they will execrate his memory, and they will extol his successor. The Saint Voltaire, and the Saint Mirabeau, were worshipped by the mob of Paris, and by that very mob their ashes were scattered with the wind. Marat was so dear to fame, that the jacobins put up his

filth in her temple; but in a short time thinking that it had stayed there too long, they put it into a *Pot de Chambre*, by way of urn, and threw the whole into the common sewer of the city. In the same spirit it was, that Colonel Burr was anathematized as a traitor by the very jacobin politicians who, but a short time before, canonized him for a saint and republican patriot. And it may, without any great violence to probability, be expected that the same worthy body will, ere long, afford to their present lord, master, and idol, Jefferson, an apotheosis worthy at once of his merit and their consistency.

Washington, who, as the magistrate of a free people whose interest it was to preserve the most inviolable neutrality between the belligerents, had unalterably resolved to observe towards the persons holding the reins of government in France, whoever they might be, the most punctilious respect, had nevertheless contemplated with horror the criminal conduct of Robespierre and the jacobin clubs, and felt the most painful anxiety for the possible effects of their system reaching America, more particularly, as every day brought an increased accumulation of their principles and practices into the Union, could not help rejoicing at the downfal of that body, and looking with correspondent regard upon the new rulers of France. The gratulations and expressions of amity which the latter offered to the American minister, were viewed by the President with less suspicion than those of the former; and he received happier forebodings, the intelligence that Mr. Monroe, who arrived at Paris soon after the fall of

Robespierre and the jacobins, was hailed by the Convention with marks of the most cordial good will and respect. Mr. Monroe was not wanting in protestations of his country's affection and respect for France, and assurances of those friendly sentiments which had already been pledged no less fervently and faithfully to Robespierre. Whatever the faults of Mr. Monroe may be, he cannot be impeached of a want of sincerity upon this occasion. He had been selected by the President for the mission because the French knew that he was a zealot in their cause against England, and his appointment would therefore be considered as an unequivocal testimony of the desire of the American government to cultivate and maintain the relations of amity and good faith with the Republic of France. The sentiments expressed on both sides were very warm. The Convention decreed, upon the occasion, that the flags of the American and French Republics should be united together, and suspended in its own hall; and Mr. Monroe, in return, presented the Convention with the flag of the United States, as a testimony of the gratitude and pleasure with which his country was impressed, by the kindness of the sister Republic. It ought not to pass unnoticed, that on this occasion the letter from the French government to that of the United States, was not directed (as it ought to have been, in conformity to the respect due to the American Constitution) to the executive, but to the Legislature, and was couched in terms which implied that they considered that the branch of government which possessed the super-

intendance of our foreign relations. Had Mr. Monroe been as intent upon performing his duty to the federal government and constitution of America, as in forwarding the interests and cultivating the good will of the French Republic, he would have noticed the error which, if purposed, was an insult; and insisted upon its being corrected. Indeed, he must have been convinced that it was purposed, and evidently intended to play into the hands of the faction in America, against the Presidential authority; because the Committee of Safety who wrote it, knew that their former letter, addressed by them to Congress, and to which Mr. Monroe carried answers written by the Secretary of State, was by Congress handed over to the executive to whose prerogatives it belonged, to hold intercourse with foreign nations. M. Fauchet was recalled, and to M. Adet who succeeded him this letter was committed, together with a French flag, which he was to present to the United States. On New-year's day, 1796, the letter and flag were both delivered to the President by M. Adet, who made him a speech on the occasion, in which he said that France WAS STRUGGLING FOR HER OWN LIBERTY and FOR THE LIBERTIES OF THE WHOLE HUMAN RACE. In free people, such as the Americans were, she saw only friends and brothers, and she sought to draw closer the ties already formed in the fields of America, under the anspices of victory over the ruins of tyranny. And he concluded his address with these words—"Mr. "President, I do not doubt these expectations will "be fulfilled, and I am convinced that every citizen

"will receive with a pleasing emotion this flag,
"elsewhere, the terror of the enemies of liberty;
"here, the certain pledge of faithful friendship—
"especially when they recollect that it guides to
"combat men who have shared their toils, and
"who were prepared for liberty BY AIDING THEM
"TO ACQUIRE THEIR OWN."

It was a very difficult matter for Washington to give an answer to this speech expressive of feelings adapted to the occasion, without running the hazard of letting fall sentiments which it might be improper for him, as the Chief Magistrate of a neutral country, to use respecting the belligerents. Nor could his independent spirit (proud as it was of his country's character, and of that zeal in the cause of freedom which, from the first footstep printed on the sands of America by the British colonists, had distinguished them, and which in truth was the great mainspring of their colonization) brook the insinuation contained in the conclusion of Adet's address, that France had aided them in ACQUIRING their liberty. The quickness of Washington's perception, and the depth of his penetration are strongly marked in his conduct on this occasion. He instantly saw into the very heart of Adet's insinuation, and he felt it as such a patriot may be supposed to feel it. But he mastered his indignation while he denied the offensive proposition, and in the most dignified manner maintained the ground of his country's honour without endangering the harmony which it was his firm resolution to cultivate, and if possible, improve. With the rapidity of

lightning, the proposition of Adet was discussed in his mind. "You help us to ACQUIRE our liberty! "No, Sir!—Liberty was ours before the name of "it was known to you, or dared to be uttered in "your country. We, and our fathers, and our fa- "thers' fathers, came into the world the inde- "feasible heritors of liberty, and you shall be told "so." Such was the train of thought which passed with the quickness of light through the mind of Washington. To make a reply suitable to the answer was difficult. The President's situation was delicate and critical: but with his accustomed felicity, he turned the circumstance into a new trophy for his country and himself. He set out with a majestic assertion of the falsehood of the Frenchman's insinuation, and while the glories of the sage and the patriot stood upon his brow, and the fire of the hero's spirit flashed from his eye, he in a solemn tone of voice and with an emphasis which never was forgotten by those who witnessed it, broke silence with the following words: "BORN, "SIR, IN A LAND OF LIBERTY: HAVING "EARLY LEARNED ITS VALUE; HAVING EN- "GAGED IN A PERILOUS CONFLICT TO DE- "FEND IT; HAVING, IN A WORD, DEVOTED "THE BEST YEARS OF MY LIFE TO *secure* ITS "PERMANENT ESTABLISHMENT IN MY COUN- "TRY; my anxious recollections, my sympathetic "feelings, and my best wishes are irresistibly ex- "cited, whensoever in any country I see AN OP- "PRESSED NATION UNFURL THE BANNERS OF

"FREEDOM." Thus he dexterously turned the false insinuation of Adet into its true channel, and plainly told him "We have ever been free, and "rejoice to see you *an oppressed nation*, dare *to unfurl* "*the banners of freedom*." Having thus got rid of the offensive part he proceeded to congratulate Adet that the liberty which France had fought for, "Now "finds an asylum in the bosom of a regularly or-"ganized government."

Between the time of M. Adet's mission and his public reception by the President, the revolutionary government which followed the abolition of monarchy had been put down, and a republican Constitution erected in its place. In his short speech, the President alluded to this, with a glance at the preceding state of things. "I rejoice," said he, "that the period of your toils and your immense "sacrifices is approaching. I rejoice that the re-"volutionary movements of so many years have "issued in the formation of the Constitution de-"signed to give permanency to the great object for "which you have contended. I am rejoiced that "liberty which you have so long embraced with en-"thusiasm, NOW finds an asylum in the bosom of "a regularly organized government."

The speech of M. Adet, the President's answer, and the colours of France, were transmitted to Congress; and then began a series of national complimenting from the representatives of the American sovereign people to the representatives of the sovereign people of France, which was likely to have no end, till at last it was remarked in the Senate that "The complimentary correspondence

"between the two nations had reached a point, "when, if ever, it ought to close." And therefore the House came to a resolution to have the national correspondence thenceforth carried on between the proper authorities—that is, between the executive branches of both Republics.

The British treaty still continued to mortify the faction, and their restless and mischievous nature would not allow them to acquiesce with a good grace in the deliberate decision of the constitutional and lawful authorities. In the House of Representatives they had a majority, and that majority had openly denied the right of the President to make a treaty of commerce. They were therefore greatly exasperated when the President, in conformity to the dictates of his duty, issued a proclamation announcing the completion of the treaty with all its legal binding solemnities, and requiring the observance and due execution of it by all citizens, without waiting for the House of Representatives to declare their opinion upon it. With the view to an attack upon the President, one of the chiefs of the faction moved the representatives to call upon the President to lay before the House a copy of the instructions to the minister of the United States, who negotiated the treaty with Great Britain, together with the correspondence and documents relative to the said treaty. After a long and furious debate, the motion was carried by a majority of sixty-two, to thirty-seven votes. The numbers are stated to mark the progress of French influence (for it was nothing else) in the

popular branch of the legislative councils of the country.

And now arose another occasion for the display of Washington's wisdom and energies. In an elective government which, under the operation of the sinister influence that confounded and polluted the United States, was every day practically receding from the true Republican form, and degenerating into a wild democracy, and at a time, too, when the passions and prejudices of the people were excited to a high degree of exasperation, by artifices and exertions which pervaded every class of society, it was a hazardous, and indeed a bold step, which the President felt it his duty to take. He was conscious that the establishing of the Constitution on the firmest grounds, if to be effected at all, must be effected by him, while yet the affections and confidence of the real people bore him up against the assaults of the foreign faction. He knew the value and the danger of precedents, and he saw that a most important constitutional law was now to be established or lost for ever by that precedent which his determination would fix upon the legislative records of the country. He was convinced that it would be a pernicious principle to let into the government, that the representatives of the people had *a right* to demand an inspection of the documents and instructions given to a foreign minister during the negotiation of a treaty. It would frustrate the very purpose for which the discretionary power with the responsibility annexed to it, were, by the Constitution, vested in the President.

He felt, upon mature deliberation, that his duty imperiously called upon him to resist the encroachment attempted by the representatives upon the executive branch of the government, and to refuse the papers called for; and to that end wrote the House an answer, in which, after pointing out to them that part of the Constitution and the proper construction of it with plainness, force, and perspicuity, he said, "As it is therefore perfectly "clear to my understanding that the assent of the "House of Representatives is not necessary to the "validity of a treaty; as the treaty with Great "Britain exhibits in itself all the objects requiring "legislative provisions; and on these the papers "called for can throw no light; and as it is essential "to the due administration of the government that the "boundaries fixed by the Constitution between the "different departments should be preserved, a just "regard to the Constitution and to the duty of my "office, under all the circumstances of this case, "forbid a compliance with your request."

This refusal was unexpected. It exasperated the faction, and struck with indignation and amazement the democratic body through all its classes of improbity. Yet even with those there remained, till this event, a remnant of love and veneration lurking in their hearts for the President. Amidst all the irritations of party they still cherished the remembrance of his great achievements, and of the idolatrous affection in which they had held him before the pollution of French principles had given them up to public prostitution of principle. But this infraction upon

the rights of the representatives of the sovereign, this erecting of a buttress to support the executive magistracy against the ever-varying force of the democratic torrent, cut the last cable that held them to their Washington, and the representatives on their part, lost no time to mark the change in their sentiments towards him and their perseverance in the claim to interfere in negotiations with foreign countries, by declaring the sense of the House, and asserting their right, whenever stipulations were made on subjects committed by the Constitution to Congress, to deliberate on the expediency of carrying them into effect.

Thus was the administration of Washington one continual struggle with the wild democracy of the country, to establish the Constitution on rational, certain, and if possible, permanent principles of government, and to rescue its practical administration from the pernicious invasions of turbulent domestic faction, from foreign corruption, and from the versatile innovations of a fickle and presumptuous multitude.

When the British treaty came again before the House of Representatives, on a motion to make provision for carrying it into effect a very able and tempestuous debate ensued. The subject was too important, and the collisions which it created were too violent not to produce strong sensations throughout the Union. Meetings were again convened in all parts, and the parties met, with increased knowledge of the subject, to try their strength. By this time the misrepresentations of the faction had been

more fully exposed to view, and the fallacies which had been fastened on the public mind, were seen through and rejected. The odium excited against the treaty by the French partisans, was greatly done away, and these considerations were urged home more forcibly by the persuasion, in which almost all people seemed to participate, that war with Great Britain would be the inevitable consequence of its rejection. Thus the opinions of grave and reflecting men acquired their proper share of influence, and the voice of the nation was heard to speak aloud against the decisions of the democratic majority in the representatives. This was not to be slighted; and the resolution for making provision to carry the treaty into effect, passed the House.

An incident now occurred, which deserves particular notice, as it serves to throw a light upon the conduct of the democrats, not from itself alone, but from a comparison of it with subsequent proceedings of theirs.

It has been already stated,* that an attempt was made in the session of 1794, to lay the foundation of a naval establishment, by building and equipping a small squadron to go against Algiers; the corsairs of which had rendered the Mediterranean almost impassable to American vessels, capturing all they met, confiscating the cargoes, and sending the crews into slavery. With the utmost difficulty, and after a violent opposition from the faction, a sorry armament of six frigates was voted—but even that could

* See ante, page 186.

not be let to pass through the house unshackled with some dead weight of obstacle; a clause being included, to suspend all proceedings under the act should affairs be settled with Algiers. It was not till the fifth of September, 1795, that, after several attempts on the part of the United States which were baffled by the evasive address of the regency, a treaty was negotiated and signed, upon very disadvantageous terms, but which were, nevertheless, the best that could be had; and were indeed, with great difficulty, obtained. And here it ought to be remarked, that though the terms were very disadvantageous, the treaty was suffered to pass without any objection from the opposition. And why? Because France had no interest in it. Jacobinism was not affected by it in any of its relations—it could neither hurt Great Britain, promote the jacobin cause, or facilitate the murderous projects of France to reject it, and therefore it made no part of the cares of the opposition, though it was allowed to be disadvantageous. They knew in their souls, that bad as it was, it was the best that could be procured; and they were conscious that their blighting interference with the business in the first instance, and that their prevention and delay of a proper armament had occasioned the failure. Had it not been for them, that which was afterwards accomplished by the gallantry of an American naval armament against Tripoli, might have then been accomplished against Algiers. As soon as this peace was made, the building of the ships was suspended, and not one frigate could be got completed, without further authority from the Legislature, though the com-

merce of the country still lay at the mercy of the Tunisian and Tripolitan corsairs, there being no treaty to protect them; and it being, of course, very unsafe for American vessels to enter the Mediterranean. The President called upon Congress to take the subject into consideration, and stated that an immense loss would accrue to the Union, from the sudden interruption of the work. The fanatical proselytes of France, and French principles, laid their withering hands upon the measure, and instead of six ships originally granted, it was with difficulty a bill was procured, enabling the executive to complete three. When this comes to be compared with the wanton and unprincipled prodigality with which a swarm of gun-boats have been since built, to choak up the harbours of the country against the ingress and egress of its own commerce, the true patriot will be at a loss for words to express his indignation at such a shameless abuse of the confidence of a free people.

Hitherto the proceedings of the democratic faction have evidently appeared to be a distinct, clear and uninterrupted series of efforts to tie up America in an offensive and defensive alliance with France, and involve the nation in war with Great Britain. Failing in their endeavours to accomplish this, they have been seen using every means which their ample stores of fraud, cunning and falsehood, could supply, to persuade the people that Washington was under the influence of Great Britain. To this end, every part of his presidential conduct that related to

foreign countries, was partially reviewed, grossly misrepresented, and aspersed with a bitterness of censure, unexampled in the history of the world. More solicitous for the coöperation of government with the counsels of the French rulers, even than those rulers themselves, they officiously supplied the cabinet of Paris with topics of accusation and jealousy against their own lawful government, and insisted that the neutral system of Washington, and still more, the British treaty were hostile and justly offensive to France. The impudent pretensions of M. Genet, and his false and forced construction of the treaties between the two nations, were too temperate for their zeal. In the most extravagant sallies of that factious interloper, the American friends of France kept equal pace with him. All the claims which the inventive rapacity, and supercilious arrogance of the minister of France could dictate, were boldly subscribed to, and advocated by the faction. And in no instance that stands on record, did the zeal of Greek or Roman patriots for the rights of their own republics, burn with a more furious flame, than did that of Americans for the pernicious cause of France. In the periodical and casual productions of the press, in clubs, in convened meetings, in private and in public assemblies, nothing was to be heard but bitter censures upon the executive for preserving neutrality, anger and lamentations for the supposed ill treatment of France, and exhortations to the people to coerce the executive into compliance with the decrees of that republic.

The incessant reiteration of these topics could not fail to produce a very bad effect upon the cabinet of Paris. Though perfectly convinced of the futility of those charges against the executive, they were in a manner, compelled by the earnestness with which they were advanced by Americans themselves, to look upon this as a favourable opportunity for urging the demands suggested by their envoy. In conformity to these dispositions, the French minister first began with petty cavilling complaints, from those rose to sharp solicitation, and thence to downright reproach. M. Fauchet was soon perceived to be the inheritor of the views, and the copyist of the language, as well as of the office of M. Genet. The arrival of M. Adet, who, if it were only for the novelty of his situation, might reasonably be expected to be more guarded in his language, if not more reasonable in his demands than either of his predecessors, revived in the bosom of Washington, the hope that the affairs of the two countries would be permitted to move on together in the uninterrupted channel of neutrality, in which they had hitherto flowed, and determined him to use every means in his power to remove from that minister all his mistaken notions and unfavourable sentiments, respecting the conduct of the American government in the treaty with Britain, with which the treacherous faction had impressed him. In this his honourable solicitude to preserve, at once the neutrality of his country, and the amity of France, he ordered that instrument to be laid before Adet. Adet complained bitterly of it, and said that it virtually renounced the principle which

was all along foremost in the eyes of France, viz. that "free ships should make free goods." At this time, the letters received from the American minister at Paris, excited considerable alarm respecting the projects of France, and these apprehensions were increased by intelligence received from the West-Indies, that the directory had sent orders there, to issue letters of marque for the capture of all American vessels laden with provisions, and bound for British ports. Conscious that his disposition towards France was perfectly amicable, and that the conduct of the American government to her had not afforded the slightest cause for complaint, and suspecting that the failure of his efforts for a perfect adjustment of differences might arise from a want of proper zeal in his minister at Paris, to justify measures to which that gentleman's party had been uniformly opposed, he resolved to send an ambassador whose zeal would be unquestionable; he therefore recalled Mr. Monroe and dispatched in his place, General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, than whom one more unexceptionable personage lived not in the United States. A zealous American, untainted with foreign predilections, but from the nobleness of his nature and the goodness of his heart, wishing all practicable happiness to every nation, he had, with a very favourable eye, viewed the French revolution, and rejoiced in it as an event which he thought likely to better the condition of so many millions of people. Under this impression, however erroneous it may have since turned out, he had felt all the enthusiasm of an ardent lover of liberty, in the cause of the revolutionists—looked with pleas-

ing hope to their establishment of a republic, and contenting himself with the essential services which he had rendered to his country during the revolutionary war, kept himself in the retirement of private life, aloof from political strife and party dissension. Whatever might have been his private opinions on the subject, he had studiously avoided all interference in the contentions which agitated the country on the British treaty, and had abstained from being the partisan of either side. In every respect he was perfectly unobjectionable to France. To his country, his appointment gave a fair promise of every advantage which could be derived from sound sense, cultivated by a liberal education; from natural wisdom enriched with knowledge, and armed with intrepidity; and from a high sense of personal honour, unspotted integrity, and the most vigilant and tenacious jealousy of his country's rights. With all these amiable qualities, Washington knew Mr. Pinckney to be richly endowed—and he also knew, that if to such a man any additional motive to serve his mission faithfully were possible, such a motive would be found in the personal attachment of that exalted character to Washington himself.

The time now approached when the father and founder of his nation resolved to give the residue of his days to the sweets of domestic life, and to retire from the storm of public business. Notwithstanding the industrious efforts of the faction, he still held by far the highest station in the public heart, and the wishes of the people for his continuance in office

grew warm, and were more loudly avowed in proportion as the time for his intended retirement approached. The most popular characters were offered to their election, but they all faded from the people's eye before the image of their Washington, and another unanimous election awaited him, when to the sorrow of the whole nation, he promulgated his unalterable determination to withdraw from the Chief Magistracy. This was a thing which he had, nearly about the expiration of his first presidency, seriously contemplated—infirmity had induced the resolution—but the demands of his country, and the earnest solicitations of his friends, and even of his enemies, prevailed over his own inclinations, and he, at their instance, made a sacrifice of his feelings at the shrine of his country's welfare.

Among those who exerted themselves to persuade Washington to comply with the public wish, and accept the presidency a second time, the most conspicuously earnest in his solicitations was Mr. Jefferson. A dangerous malady with which the President was afflicted at Philadelphia, had excited the most lively apprehensions in his friends, and persuaded himself that however willing he might be to discharge the duties of office for another term, he would not be able: He had therefore ruminated upon his retirement so long, and fixed upon it with such resolute determination that, when recovered, he adhered to his resolution, and was, with the utmost difficulty, prevailed upon to yield to the universal expectation and desire of the Union. Mr. Jefferson represented

to him in the most earnest terms, that the country could not do without him; that he alone (Washington) had the power to call together and unite all the talents and abilities of the country, and to hold the helm steadily between the Scylla and Charybdis of party—that the safety of the government and the happiness of the people could only be ascertained by his sacrificing himself for another term to the State—that the government was yet young, and being as it were in the gristle, his support was absolutely necessary to it—that no other man could give the desirable efficiency to the office. In a word, that every consideration called for his compliance, while the injury which might ensue from his refusal was incalculable.

To those who have duly considered the secret opinions and practical system of conduct of Mr. Jefferson before that time, and ever since—who have seen him joined in firm political compact with the party which was openly adverse to the President, patronizing his worst calumniators, clandestinely associated with his enemies, steadily prosecuting a system of politics in almost every essential hostile to the principles, and diametrically opposite to the maxims of state and rules of policy not only laid down by the precepts but established by the practice, and recommended by the example and authority of that great man—insomuch that if one were desirous to put into a set form the state creed of Mr. Jefferson, or to give an abstract of his practical policy, he need only take the valedictory address to the people in which Washington collected

and condensed all his public principles, and invert them in every part by the introduction of a negative —to those, we say, who have attentively viewed and valued Mr. Jefferson in the various attitudes in which he has appeared, it would be deemed incredible if it were not sufficiently authenticated; but at all events, it must seem extraordinary and unaccountable, what his motive could have been for urging Washington to remain in office for another term. But history, whose business it is to investigate and record truths, and to sift to the very bottom the secret motives of those whose actions she records will not suffer the present age or posterity to go uninformed upon this very important subject; since, if not sufficiently accounted for, it might bear the aspect of a contradiction, and tend to impair the credit of the historian.

Mr. Jefferson had in the secret recesses of his own heart for some time aspired to the Chief Magistracy. He knew that the current of public opinion was beginning to run with the principles of the French Revolution; that the passions of the multitude were in favour of France; and that the prejudices of the public would, by subtle and dexterous management, be easily turned to the accomplishment of his ambitious designs. His own warmest predilections were in favour of France. The jacobin club and the whole band of regicides were united in intimate connexion with him; and he shrewdly conjectured that by furthering the interests of that nation and of that body of men in the United States he should proportionably further his own ambitious purposes. He knew that this was to be

done only by degrees, and that no attempt on his part should be hazarded till the public feelings were properly matured for its reception. Neither was it at all advisable to come forth at once, as some of his less cunning partisans did, the open and avowed friend to France, or promulgator of principles so odious to the best and wisest men in the country, and particularly the executive, as those which he had embraced were known to be. With those he appeared to go along not very reluctantly, while by private underhand agency he was working their overthrow. Hence that apparent inconsistency, but real insincerity, which appears so obviously in his whole conduct, and to which his friend and coadjutor, Genet, alluded, when he charged him with having two opposite kinds of languages—one, public and official; the other, private and personal—one, when he wrote to M. Genet as Secretary of State; the other, when he communicated with him as a private friend, or, an occult conspirator. At the expiration of Washington's first term of the Presidential office, his pretensions were not sufficiently grown—the public mind was not ripe for him. He was, comparatively little in the general eye. Mr. Adams was, next to Washington, the leading, or rather the only object with the people for the presidency; and if he once got into that office, while yet the public temper was in a state of rational ductility, he might by a fair and dexterous management of his authority, maintain himself in it far beyond the length to which he had in his own mind decreed him to

go. He therefore resolved if possible, to exclude Adams till the effect of another term of four years should be tried upon the people, and knowing that this was impracticable but by the continuance of Washington in office, he strained his ingenuity and influence to the utmost to effect that point, and with all the appearance of an unfeigned affection and respect for that great and good man, and an air of sincerity which none but men practised in guilt could have suspected, he so eloquently and pathetically enforced his solicitations, that united with those of the President's most approved friends, they were irresistible, and he had to congratulate himself at once upon the accomplishment of his purpose, upon a master stroke of political duplicity, and upon an act of the most consummate and unparalleled hypocrisy. Such as has just been described, was the affectionate and respectful language which, for his own private purposes, Mr. Jefferson used to that very President Washington, whom he described in an epistolary metaphor, as the Sampson of America whose hair was shorn off by the whore of England. But of that it will be necessary to say more hereafter.

The time was now come however, when it was no longer competent to any human persuasion to induce Washington to remain any longer in office, and when Mr. Jefferson felt no inclination whatever to keep him there. The public mind, he thought, was now sufficiently polluted with principles congenial to his own to make him a formi-

dable, if not a successful adversary to Adams, and he was not unwilling to try the strength of his popularity with that gentleman in a community in which illuminism had made no inconsiderable advance, and a large portion of the people though not actually jacobins themselves, were attached to the very worst devotees and disciples of jacobinism. The indefatigable and penetrating eye of Washington had long perceived in the country the growth of a spirit which he feared would one time or other endanger its independence, and though in his public correspondence he purposely abstained from expressing his doubts and his suspicions, in his private letters to his friends he unfolded his mind and freely gave vent to his apprehensions, not only of the progress of certain bad principles, but of the practices of certain bad men. Of the four men who formed his original cabinet he had seen corruption brought home to the door of one and had, when too late, reason to lament that another was, from inclination, that devotee to the government and principles of France which the former was, from corrupt cupidity. The intercepted dispatch of Fauchet proved the one, Mr. Jefferson's conduct, thinly veiled with cunning and hypocrisy, betrayed the other. Washington had seen the perfidy of one of his counsellors betraying to the public the secret papers* of his cabinet for

* Certain queries which Washington submitted to his council respecting the conduct to be pursued towards France after her declaring war against Great Britain. See the Appendix.

the purpose of demonstrating dispositions in the executive inimical to France. He had seen letters, which had been forged for the purpose, published as his, containing sentiments favourable to Great Britain, and artfully blended with domestic facts in order to give them the more plausible appearance of genuineness and truth; and he had seen the disdainful silence with which he had treated the innumerable calumnies that were circulated at his expense, construed into a confession of their truth. In the first of these cases just mentioned, Mr. Jefferson thought proper to acquit himself of having any thing to do with that act of treachery. On this occasion Washington wrote him in answer that he harboured no suspicion of his having betrayed the papers, but said that he knew "From what "source they flowed, through what channel they "were conveyed, and for what purpose they and "similar publications appeared." The same Mr. Randolph whom Fauchet mentioned so honourably in his dispatches was known to be the person to whom the President alluded in his aforesaid letter to Mr Jefferson, after which he proceeded as follows:—

"To this I may add, and very truly, that until "the last year or two I had no conception that "parties would, or even could, go the lengths I "have been witness to; nor did I believe until "lately, it was within the bounds of probability— "hardly within those of possibility—that while "I was using my utmost exertions to establish a "national character of our own, independent as far

"as our obligations and justice would permit, of "every nation of the earth, and wished by steering a "steady course to preserve this country from the "horrors of a desolating war, I should be accused of "being the enemy of our nation, and subject to the "influence of another: and to prove it, that every "act of my administration would be tortured, and "the grossest and most insidious misrepresentations "of them be made, by giving one side only of a "subject, and that too in SUCH EXAGGERATED "AND INDECENT TERMS, AS COULD SCARCELY "BE APPLIED TO A NERO—TO A NOTORIOUS "DEFAULTER, OR EVEN TO A COMMON PICK-"POCKET."

Desirous of perpetuating the principles of conduct which he had himself, with such glory and advantage to his country observed, Washington wrote a farewell address to the people, in which he laid down rules and maxims of wisdom, which, if they had been adopted by his successors, would have placed the United States of America in a posture, moral and political, very different from that in which they stand at this day, or will be likely to stand for many years hereafter. A more beneficial code of national prudence, or a more admirable summary of political wisdom, or one more adapted to the country in its various exigencies and relations, is hardly to be conceived by the human imagination. A Chief Magistrate who was resolutely intent upon promoting the prosperity of his country, and securing its independence from the outrages of external hostility and the more dangerous attempts of domestic treachery and

ambitious factions could not any where find a more safe and certain guide for his conduct. Why, after such unquestionable proofs of the efficacy of the principles of policy there laid down, it should have been so totally abandoned as it has been by Mr. President Jefferson, and opposed by every individual of his partisans will hereafter be made to appear. To approve of rules of conduct is one thing—to practise them another; since the will does not always include the capacity to perform a great and laudable action. Looking to the conduct of Washington, he is found in certain critical situations, acting with a greatness of mind which no abstract rules could supply. Great wisdom and integrity unaccompanied by other qualities, would have fallen short of his object; and when his virtue and his wisdom had decided what ought to be done, and his discerning and accurate judgment had measured the hazards of attempting it, there is frequently no less cause to wonder at his intrepidity, than to reverence the purity of his heart, and to admire the profoundness of his wisdom. Had the Almighty been pleased to bless Mr. Jefferson with the wisdom and integrity of Washington, it would little avail him if he were exposed to such trials as that great man underwent for his country's good, unless to these qualities were superadded equal firmness of mind, and equal courage, qualities to which no man ever had more feeble pretensions than Mr. Jefferson.

In this admirable and interesting composition to which allusion is now making, Washington recommends a sedulous care to preserve entire the federal

Constitution. "It is justly dear to you, (says he,) "for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real "independence: the support of your tranquillity at "home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your "property, of that very liberty which you so highly "prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from dif- "ferent causes and from different quarters, much "pains will be taken, many artifices employed to "weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, "as this is the point in your political fortress, against "which the batteries of internal and external ene- "mies will be most constantly and actively, though "often covertly and insidiously directed, it is of infi- "nite moment that you should properly estimate the "immense value of your national Union, to your col- "lective and individual happiness; that you should "cherish a cordial, habitual and immoveable attach- "ment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and "speak of it as of the palladium of your political "safety and prosperity, watching for its preserva- "tion with jealous anxiety; discountenancing what- "ever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in "any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning "upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate "any portion of our country from the rest, or to en- "feeble the sacred ties which now link together the "various parts."

What attempts have been made—"what pains "have been taken, and what artifices have been em- "ployed," to weaken the attachment of the people to this very Constitution, and with what pointed anti-thetical systematic hostility, almost every injunction

of the father of his country contained in that last gift to his country has been rejected, contradicted and opposed, will be made to appear in proper time and place.

Nothing could equal the sincere manifestations of respect and veneration with which the valedictory address of Washington was received by the people. It was republished in every form which the press could afford it—handed about in the shape of pamphlets—in the columns of newspapers recopied with every typographical embellishment that could attract the attention, and render its more interesting parts prominent and conspicuous. In most houses suspended in frame-work and glass, it stood and still stands as a picture; and the State assemblies entered it at large on their journals, and with almost exceptionless unanimity, gave to the principles it inculcated, their legislative sanction, and the authority of law. In every part of the Union the overflowings of the people's hearts were poured forth in copious and innumerable streams of gratitude and love, and the public approbation was every where heard breaking out in enthusiastic sentiments of praise—in tender and sorrowful emotions of regret at his retirement from the chief magistracy, and in heartfelt effusions of prayer to heaven for his health, happiness and long life. Even the mass of democrats, *(the deceived part,)* for once faithful to their country, and true to the cause of virtue and integrity, turned their backs upon their leaders, and meditated with regret and solemn anxiety upon the greatness of their privation.

To praise or to blame, without regard to justice, is to destroy the distinctions between good and evil. Impressed with this conviction, and apprehensive that in our admiration of this very extraordinary personage, we should be mindful of the blemishes which adhere to humanity, even in its most pure and spotless compositions, we have sifted his conduct and character with all the industry, circumspection and impartiality which it was in our competency to bring to it, and scanned, with a degree of jealousy proportioned to the circumstances, every action and every motive; and the more closely we have examined, have the more admired, or rather been astonished at the greatness and perfection of the object. His military fame, erected upon a basis peculiarly his own, and standing in majestic size among the loftiest monuments of heroism, will forever remain and bid defiance to the outrages of time: Yet when we compare his military with his civil glories---the general with the statesman, the former dwindles to the sight, and at length is lost in the immensity of the latter. In old established governments, the statesman finds every thing ready made to his hand---finds laws for ages reverenced and obeyed---institutions fortified by prescription---opinions undisputed, and all the moral and political codes consolidated by habitual practical obedience, and by the universal suffrage of the people's wills---yet even there, the greatest statesmen have felt their powers tasked to the utmost stretch to preserve the equilibrium of the state. Modified by the human mind, let them be regulated how they

will, and confirmed by what time they may, they must necessarily be subject to so many changes from the advancement of knowledge and the accumulation of experience, to so many shocks from the unavoidable concussion of accident, and to so many mutations from the influence of caprice, that the policy best adapted to them can never be reduced to any precise rule or form; but continually sustaining some alteration in their state, will leave much to the discretion and judgment of him who governs. Far more trying was the task of Washington. He was elected to the rule when there was but the name of a system of government, and but the shadow of a code of laws. He found not only the laws yet to be made, but the feelings and dispositions of an unruly people to be trained to them. The government, such as it was, possessing neither revenue nor power, it had not had time or operation to entwine itself with the hearts, to unite to it the opinions and prejudices, or to mould to its purposes the manners, dispositions and reflections of the multitude. It had acquired no submission from the habits, no love or veneration from the early institution of the youth, or the earlier inculcation of childhood; and starting up, as it were exotically, from the rank hot-bed of tumult, confusion and civil war, it had to contend with the daring designs of intrepid ignorance, and the undermining warfare of subtle ambition, without any defence from prescription or hereditary respect. The country to be governed too was filled with a species of persons dangerous to any society—men who would for their lives have lived in meanness, in a national calm; but were warmed

into existence, and nourished into a state of relative magnitude, by the intestine commotions of the land. Those were conscious that the establishment of a regular government would be to them an irrevocable sentence of obscurity, and they endeavoured by all practicable means to oppose government, and to cherish the disorders which gave birth and support to their consequence. The whole administration of Washington, therefore, was not so much the execution of a regular well ordered government, as the establishment and defence of a new one. In the best constituted government, much depends upon the exercise of the powers which are left at large to the wisdom and integrity of those who administer it. In the new government, almost every thing rested upon Washington; and where so much evil presented itself, it shewed wonderful sagacity, and indeed the greatest magnanimity to decide so accurately as he did, how much of it it was prudent to tolerate, and where to resist and suppress.

But while the mass of the people viewed the illustrious Father of their Country in the most favourable light, and lamented his withdrawing from the chief magistracy, the French faction, its leaders and its instruments, felt and acted in a very different manner. The most venomous attacks were made upon him in the House of Congress by some of those, the superior malignity of whose democratic principles have entailed for ever upon them the appellation of jacobins, and without doors by those persons who were, with little disguise, the adherents of the French government, and by those prints that were obviously in

its pay. To the speech of Washington to Congress, the last that he ever delivered to them, a committee of the House of Representatives prepared an answer, by which the House was to express its grateful conviction that his wise, firm and patriotic administration had been signally conducive to the success of the present form of government, and the deep sensations of regret with which they contemplated his intended retirement from office. Mr. Giles, the firm adherent of Mr. Jefferson, openly avowed that his opinion differed from that expressed in the proposed answer, with respect to the wisdom and firmness of the President; and he said "that though he might be singular, he was not afraid to avow it. He had not that grateful conviction mentioned there: He declared he was one of those citizens who did not regret the President's retiring from office. He hoped that he would retire to his country seat, and enjoy all the happiness he could wish; and he believed that he would enjoy more than in his present situation. The government of the United States, he said, would go on very well without President Washington, for the people were competent to their own government. What calamities must attend the United States, if one man alone was essential to their government? He believed there were a thousand men in the United States who were to the full as capable of filling the presidential chair as President Washington—and at all events, the people had wisdom and virtue enough to govern themselves." To this he added an infinite deal more of fulsome trash, the very slough of jacobinism.

These acts of abominable ingratitude and political corruption, ought to be rung in perpetual peals, in the ears of the people of America, that they may be the better able to estimate the degree of credit due to the perpetrators of them, and that the guilt may be traced to the fountains from which it really issued. In the only letter in which Washington ever condescended to notice the villanous attacks upon him, and in which he feelingly and emphatically says to Mr. Jefferson, that "*the terms used to him could scarcely be* "*applied to a Nero—to a notorious defaulter—or even* "*to a common pick-pocket,*" that great and good man particularly mentions "THE PAPER OF BACHE," that is, "THE AURORA," which even then was almost as ignominious as it is at this day for the treachery of its designs, for the malignity of its spirit—for its corrupt devotion to France---for its hostility to all that was good and estimable, and for the vulgar virulence of its invective and the poisonous personality of its abuse. In this paper there appeared upon the abdication of Washington the following paragraph:

"'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in "'peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation,' was "the pious ejaculation of a man who beheld a flood "of happiness rushing in upon mankind. If ever "there was a time which would justify the reitera- "tion of that exclamation, the time is now arrived: "For *the man who is the source of all the misfortunes* "*of our country,* (meaning Washington) *is this day* "*reduced to a level with his fellow-citizens, and is* "*no longer possessed of power to multiply evils upon* "*the United States.* If ever there was a period for

" rejoicing, this is the moment---Every heart in uni-
" son with the freedom and happiness of the people
" ought to beat high with exultation that *the name of*
" *Washington from this day ceases to give a currency*
" *to political iniquity, and to legalize corruption.* A
" new era is now opening upon us, a new era which
" promises much to the people; for public measures
" must now stand upon their own merits, and *nefa-*
" *rious projects can no more be supported by a name.*
" When a retrospect is taken of the Washington ad-
" ministration for eight years past, it is a subject of
" the greatest astonishment, that a single individual
" should have cancelled the principles of republican-
" ism in an enlightened people, just emerged from
" the gulf of despotism, and should have carried his
" designs against the public liberty so far, as to have
" put in jeopardy its very existence: Such, however,
" are the facts, and with these staring us in the face,
" this day ought to be a jubilee in the United
" States."

THE PAPER IN WHICH THIS WICKED OUTRAGE UPON WASHINGTON APPEARED WAS THEN AND EVER SINCE HAS BEEN IN THE PAY AND UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF MR. JEFFERSON AND OF THE RULERS OF FRANCE. Posterity however would be incredulous of baseness so exquisitely refined, if history did not stamp it with the deepest seal of truth, and impress it upon the belief of mankind by frequent repetition.

It would be easy to point out a variety of occasions on which Washington exhibited a degree of wisdom, firmness and moderation that have had but few paral-

lels, and certainly have never been exceeded in the world. Yet in that very country which his extraordinary endowments had saved, in that alone have his merits been called in question. To hear that great man spoken of with less than respect and admiration, the European must traverse the Atlantic and come to America. Among the people of Great Britain who might stand in some degree justified for any dislike they might entertain to Washington, by the privation of this fair portion of the earth brought upon them by his genius and his prowess, his name is never mentioned but with honour, respect and applause.—And if any wretched retainer to the Court, or any feeble, needy, or corrupt Grub-street garretteer were to associate his name with one of the epithets of disrespect which the hirelings of Jefferson, the disciples of Paine, or the Jacobin Americans have accumulated upon his sacred head, he would in England be turned from with disgust and scorn. Even the rulers of France, whose schemes against the independence and tranquillity of America, he so successfully traversed and baffled, could not help contemplating him with admiration and internal praise—as robbers instinctively admire and eulogize the wakeful guardian of the house, whose fidelity and vigilance have defeated their designs and interrupted their spoliations. In a word, it is in America alone that enemies and calumniators of Washington are to be found.

Among the many base Gallic artifices which had been used to poison the public mind against Washington, to most of which he observed a silent insensibility, there was one so truly nefarious that it ought

to be kept alive as a monument of democratic villany and ingratitude. So far back as the year 1777, a conspiracy was formed against that great personage to deprive him of that popular veneration which alone could enable him to carry the country through the difficulties of her revolutionary struggle, and to this end a number of letters cunningly contrived to infuse into the public mind suspicions of his fidelity, or rather indeed assurances of his attachment to England and treachery to America, were published with his forged name to them, and asserted to have been found in the possession of a mulatto servant of his, who was, for this purpose, pretended to have been taken prisoner at Fort Lee. It might well have passed for a stratagem of the enemy, to get rid of the champion of American freedom, and the detestable inventors of the scheme might, when it failed of success, have cleared America of the pollution by ascribing it to British agency: But two things forbad it---one, that in their worst exigencies, the leaders of British armies were never known to stoop to such grovelling improbity---the other, that the very same scheme was revived in another crisis of American affairs to wound his character and deceive the people. On the day of his retirement from office, he wrote a letter to the Secretary of State on the subject, in which, after stating the base design of his enemies, and particularizing the forged letters and their dates, he proceeded and said:

"At the time when these letters first appeared, it "was notorious to the army immediately under my "command, and particularly to the gentlemen attach-

"ed to my person, that my mulatto man Billy had "never been one moment in the power of the "enemy. It is also a fact that no part of my "baggage or any of my attendants were captured "during the whole course of the war. These well "known facts made it unnecessary during the war "to call the public attention to the forgery by any "express declaration of mine; and a firm reliance "on my fellow-citizens, and the abundant proofs "they gave of their confidence in me, rendered it "alike unnecessary to take any formal notice of the "revival of the imposition during my civil admi-"nistration. But as I cannot know how soon a "more serious event* may succeed to that which "will this day take place, I have thought it a duty "that I owed to myself, to my country, and to "truth, now to detail the circumstances above re-"cited, and to add my solemn declaration that the "letters herein described are a base forgery, and "that I never saw or heard of them till they ap-"peared in print. The present letter I commit "to your care, and desire it may be deposited in "the office of the Department of State, as a tes-"timony of the truth to the present generation, "and to posterity."

Washington was present in the House of Representatives when the oaths were administered to the new President. When he entered, marks of extreme sensibility were visible in every face. His own seemed brightened with joy while as a

* His death.

common citizen he paid the homage due to his new Chief Magistrate: he then hastened to his long looked for felicity in the shades of Mount Vernon. Notwithstanding the best concerted plans on his part, to keep his journey private, his progress was traced by the fondness of his grateful fellow-citizens; nay, for a long time after his retirement, he continued to receive the acknowledgments of his country, of the great debt they owed to him, delivered in the addresses of various classes of citizens and even of legislative bodies, expressing their high sense of his exalted excellence and the most heartfelt gratitude for his services. And indeed in reviewing the histories of nations, we cannot find one among the patriots and benefactors of their respective countries who had done more for theirs, than Washington for his. Perhaps Alfred of England may be excepted, with whom, of all the heroes, Washington will stand in the nearest comparison; and if the situation of the United States in 1788, be compared with its condition when he left administration, few will be hardy enough to refuse their assent to this proposition. The country rescued from democratic anarchy and placed under a good constitution of government and established laws; its credit saved from the imputation of fraud and bankruptcy by the funding of its debts and providing for the interest of them; and in consequence of that, an extensive and substantial credit created, a system of taxation introduced, and all the obstacles that could be raised against it by the avarice, the interested prejudices of the people, and

the wicked cunning of jacobin demagogues overcome; the commerce of the nation increased, and its agriculture advanced and improved beyond all example for the same time in the history of the world; the cruel ravaging incursions of the savage tribes on the Ohio and Mississippi checked and subdued; the authority of the federal government established on a firm basis; the nation maintained by a wise and resolute system of neutrality, in peace, and the respect of foreign nations extorted from them. These, and the suppression of three formidable insurrections raised by the democrats to overturn the States—these are the deeds which even more than all his martial atchievements will give down, in the records of America, the name of Washington clothed with immortal honour, to posterity. Nor ought they to be forgotten, though they may by some be thought of inferior consequence, his accommodation of differences with Spain; his acquiring, merely by the dignified firmness of his counsels, the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the right of depot at New-Orleans, since then so disgracefully yielded up and repurchased by Mr. Jefferson; his allaying the anger and exasperation on both sides which had been fomented between Great Britain and America by the arts and outrages of the democratic societies and the French faction; and his opening the Mediterranean and giving safety to the commerce of his country by treaties with those powers on the coast of Barbary who made a war of piracy upon its shipping. In a word, his settling the country on

a footing of perfect amity with all the rest of the world, if we except the menaces of disturbance from France, which no one can be at a loss to ascribe to the restless, turbulent, insidious and profligate disposition of its rulers, which has since been fatally evinced to a mourning world, and which it was impossible for him to have prevented, or even soothed, without the direct sacrifice of all that was valuable to America, of all that she had fought for knee-deep in blood, and purchased with the lives of her heroes and patriots, the sacrifice of her independence, her freedom, and her right to govern herself by her own will and by laws of her own making.

Let those then who doubt, if there really be any who do doubt, the obligations of this country to the immortal Washington, compare its situation on the day he retired to Mount Vernon with that in which he found it on the day of his becoming President, and above all, let them compare its condition on the last day of the year 1797, with that in which it stands at this (the first day of the year 1809,) when disgraced and overawed by France, its ships captured, robbed and burnt at sea, or condemned in port without even the formality of a trial, its citizens made captive, and the spirit of the country, instead of being let forth in vengeance on the guilty robbers, locked up in a base and pusillanimous embargo; the commerce of the country destroyed; its wonted channels dried up, perhaps for many years; its agriculture languishing; its treasury exhausted, and no mode of revenue, no system of taxation to supply its wants; all being sacrificed by a faction

to purchase popularity and deceive the people—and in a word, the country pulled down from the exalted rank which it held in the estimation of foreigners, to a state of contempt, derision, and dislike; skulking like a frightened rabbit within the recesses of its own burrow, and not daring to go beyond the mouths of its holes for the necessary purposes of sustentation.

The retirement of Washington left no person in the Union on whom the concurrent election of all parties for the office of Chief Magistrate was likely to fall. No one could now look for the unanimous suffrage of the people—and the contending parties accordingly prepared to try their strength against each other by the most important and unequivocal test which the constitutional arrangements of the Union could afford. Had the names of the candidates been unknown, their qualifications and respective characters might be very accurately appreciated by the parties that nominated them. At this crisis, the spirit of electioneering began to display the fatal effects of foreign influence, and to be directed too much by the feelings and conduct of parties towards France. In the bosoms of the mere democratic body, the interests of France entirely occupied the place which ought to have been given exclusively to America—they therefore, in the most unqualified manner, condemned the system pursued by Washington, while the federalists, on principle, approved of that system, and were the more convinced of the soundness of its policy because it was the favourite of that great man, of whose wisdom, prudence and patriot-

ism they had so many proofs before them. On the other hand it has been seen that the opposition, in all its classes of turbulence from the unmixed jacobin to the mitigated democrat, still keeping their eyes steadily fixed upon the interests of France, rather than upon the honour or advantage of their own country, virulently declaimed against a system by which the nation had been preserved from becoming a sacrifice to the general scheme of ruin which the rulers of France had planned against the world. They insisted that the policy of Washington did little less than solicit the active enmity of France, and that nothing but the generosity of that *injured* country, and its sincere friendship for this her sister republic could have withheld her so long from wreaking vengeance on the American people for the ingratitude and injustice of its government. The whole gist of party contention was the question of France, her will and her interests. In every election, therefore, the pretensions of the democratic or anti-federal candidate were founded not on his wisdom, his virtue, his patriotism, or his services to America, but on the side of European politics he had taken. Had he been the friend of Robespierre and of Danton? Was he now the advocate of Robespierre and Danton's killers? Was he ready to leap into the gulph of destruction and carry down his country along with him, to help France to universal empire, which, however, the various usurpers of the rule in that country might differ with each other about every thing else, they all concurred in making the chief object of their gigantic and unprincipled

exertions? He that was not ready to do all this, was considered by the anti-federalists and democrats as unfit for the government of the country. Though Washington was known to be the promoter and the resolute champion of the system which excluded those democratic French measures from the adoption of government, the high veneration and affection in which he was held, would have again secured to him a reëlection to the chief magistracy, perhaps with not less unanimity than that displayed upon a former occasion: But now that he declined it, there was no man in the Union, in whose election the bulk of the leading parties would unite their voices. And the time was at hand when French influence was to grapple with American, and to try their respective strengths for the chief magistracy of the United States. Mr. Adams, the late Vice-President, was known to be the zealous advocate of the system of Washington—Mr. Jefferson to be the friend and advocate of France. The federalists set up the former; the anti-federalists, the democrats, and the jacobins with all their ways and means, supported the latter. Along with them was proposed a personage of claims on personal merit, much superior to either—General Pinckney of South Carolina. In the federal party, there were men of great and deserved influence who had for some time been led by an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Adams's character, to entertain very serious doubts of his fitness for the presidential office. Upon a comparison of that gentleman with General Pinckney, he appeared lessened to the eye of estimation—he was considered

as having broached theories inconsistent with his practice—In his conversation he was represented as indulging in excursions, during which, the inmost heart was supposed to utter its contents, into the field of foreign politics. He had in a private letter been guilty of a treacherous attack upon the purity of the executive in the appointment of General Pinckney to the Court of London, and by him who next to Washington was the brightest, the best and the most illustrious of the active leaders of federalism, he was not only considered as a person of a "dis- "gusting egotism, distempered jealousy, and an un- "governable, indiscreet temper, but suspected of en- "tertaining very incorrect maxims of administration." On the other hand, General Pinckney presented a character, which in every aspect, public as well as private, was spotless. Even the diabolical ingenuity of democratic enemies could not find a flaw in his life, or invent a story to his discredit, which they could reasonably hope to be believed. The civil and military services of himself and his family had been of the first character, and of great public utility—mild, brave and moderate in his temper, his prejudices, if he had any, were unfavourable to England; for the relentless rigour with which the war had been carried on in South Carolina, had produced more animosity against Britain in that State, than in any other part of the Union; and as he and his family ranked among the highest there in connection and property, a proportionable share of the evils of the war fell to their lot. He and they had been among the warmest admirers and zealous friends of

the French revolution, and continued to deplore their defeats, and rejoice at the victories of France till the enormities of the revolutionists became so abominable that none but minds blinded by wickedness, and misled by corruption, and hearts impenetrable by pity, unsusceptible of feeling, insensible to remorse, and barred with bolts of steel against the compunctious visitings of nature could contemplate them without hatred and horror. General Pinckney had therefore no European attachments; he was wholly American, and with every other essential qualification for the office, combined a temper, discreet, affable, benevolent and conciliatory, and an uncommon share of that cool unshakable intrepidity which is generally observed to accompany a meek and generous nature. Many personal friends of Mr. Adams who knew General Pinckney only by his name and his character, were inclined upon public motives to prefer the latter, and to give him their support for the presidency; and the wisest of the party strenuously recommended the giving to both equal support. But a personal attachment to Mr. Adams superseded all claims, and in most of the States, particularly in those of New-England, caused a number of votes to be withheld from General Pinckney and entirely lost. Infatuated, fatal policy!—By it Mr. Adams was by accident, or, as a great statesman has left us in writing, by a miracle, elected President, Mr. Jefferson Vice-President, and the most worthy was left to run his race in the tranquil but obscure path of domestic retirement.

While the election was in progress, and the parties on both sides were canvassing with all their might and influence, each for its favourite candidate, a circumstance occurred, which palpably demonstrated the views of the French rulers upon America, the influence they aspired to obtain over its public affairs, and the truth of the assertion made in a preceding page, that French influence was to grapple with American, for the presidential chair. While the election hung in equal scales, the French minister wrote a letter to the Secretary of State, in which, after purposely reciting in detail all the complaints formerly urged by the insolent Genet, and the little less insolent Fauchet, he reproached the executive, and that too, in a language of indecent asperity, with violating the treaties subsisting between France and America, with ingratitude to that nation which had secured to the United States their independence, and with an unjust and partial adherence to Great Britain. He said that the Directory, considering the treaty concluded with Great Britain as a flagrant aggravation of the great wrongs done to the French republic by the INSIDIOUS proclamation of neutrality, had suspended his ministerial functions with the federal government; but that the cause which had so long restrained the just resentment of the Executive Directory from bursting forth, still tempered its effects—the name of America, notwithstanding the wrongs of its government, he observed, still excited sweet emotions in the hearts of Frenchmen, and the Executive Directory wished not to break with a people whom they loved to salute with the appellation of

a friend. He said, therefore, that the suspension of his functions was not to be regarded as a rupture, but as a mark of just discontent, which was to last until the government of the United States returned to sentiments and to measures, more conformable to the interests of the alliance, and to the friendship between the two nations. To this impudent menace, which was more like a threat of castigation from a despotic monarch to a refractory dependent colony, than to any part of the diplomatic intercourse between two nations in amity and mutual independence, was added as artful and wicked an appeal to the passions of the people as ever was uttered. Following the language of the faction which the same influence had engendered in the heart of the country, M. Adet proceeded in the following words, which it would wrong this history not to include in it. "Alas! "time has not yet demolished the forts with which "the English disfigured this country, nor those "which the Americans raised for their defence; "their summits still appear in every quarter, amidst "plains, on the tops of mountains. The traveller "need not search for the ditch which served to en- "compass them; it is still open under his feet. "Still are to be found the scattered ruins of houses "laid waste, which the fire had partly respected, to "remain as monuments of British fury. Men still "live who may say, here a ferocious Englishman "slaughtered my father; there my bleeding daughter "was torn by my wife from the hands of an unbri- "dled Englishman. Alas! the soldiers who fell un- "der the swords of the Britons are not yet reduced

" to dust: The husbandman, turning up his field, still " raises from the bosom of the earth their whitened " bones; while the ploughman with tears of ten- " dernes and gratitude still recollects that his fields, " now covered with rich harvests, have been moist- " ened with French blood. While every thing " around the inhabitants of this country animates " them to speak of the tyranny of Great Britain, and " of the generosity of Frenchmen; when England " has declared a war of death to that nation, to " avenge herself for having cemented with its blood " the independence of the United States: It was at " this moment, their governments made a treaty of " amity with their ancient tyrant, the implacable " enemy of their ancient ally. Oh Americans co- " vered with noble scars! Oh you who have so often " flown to death and to victory with French soldiers! " you who know those generous sentiments which " distinguish the true warrior! whose hearts have " always vibrated with those of your companions in " arms! consult them to-day to know what they expe- " rience; recollect at the same time that if magnani- " mous souls with liveliness resent an affront, they " also know how to forget one. Let your govern- " ment return to itself, and you will still find in " Frenchmen, faithful friends and allies."

It is impossible for any one to be insensible to the drift of this letter. In order to give it more speedy and effectual operation, it was published immediately in the paper which was known to be hired by France, and to have been employed to turn the people of America and make them rise against their es-

tablished government. The plan, however, was too obvious—the manner of executing it too insolent and bold---and the ultimate purpose of it too pernicious to be borne by any American who was not actually leagued with France against the freedom and independence of his country. Many of the very men who had with more than becoming liberality censured the system of administration, took the alarm at this audacious intrusion, and concurred in frowning down the insolent and insidious interference of the French minister, in that dearest and most important right of the citizen, the exercise of his suffrage: while, on the other hand, the federal party were animated by a two-fold indignation at the open hostility of a foreign intruder to them and their just principles of policy, and the daring project of a stranger to controul the American people in the great act of national sovereignty, and to corrupt the prime source of their national independence with that most deadly of pestilences, French intrigue. Had the federal party been as disposed to derive an empty triumph from the fulfilment of their prognostications, as they were anxious to preserve their country inviolate and free, they would have found some relief from the mortification inflicted by this attempt upon their country, in the pride of having predicted it. But replete with genuine patriotism, they were shocked at the verification of their own forebodings, and instead of glorying in this open developement of the designs of France to establish an influence over the government of America, they only thought of the best means how to defeat it. They did exert themselves accordingly

with more determination, vigour and effect: so that, considering that the election of Mr. Adams was carried by a majority of only two, it is nearly certain that it was M. Adet's intrusion which prevented his friend, and probably his colleague and adviser, Mr. Jefferson, from reaching the presidential chair.

M. Adet imagined that he had little more to do than look big and assume a threatening aspect to awe the American government into compliance. He therefore sent in a most insolent note, in which he inveighed against the American government for suffering the British cruisers to search their ships, and to impress their seamen from American vessels. "They have impressed seamen (said he) from on "board American vessels, and have thus found the "means of strengthening their crews at the expense "of the Americans, *without the government of the* "*United States having made known to the undersign-*"*ed the steps they had taken to obtain satisfaction for* "*the violation of neutrality*, so hurtful to the inte-"rests of France.

"The undersigned minister plenipotentiary, con-"ceives it his duty to remark to the Secretary of "State, that the neutral governments of the allies of "the republic have nothing to fear as to the treat-"ment of their flag by the French, since, if keeping "within the bounds of their neutrality, they cause "the rights of that neutrality to be respected by the "English, the republic will respect them. But if "*through weakness, partiality, or other motives*, they "should suffer the English to sport with that neutral-"ity, and turn it to their advantage, could they then

" complain when France, to restore the balance of " neutrality to its equilibrium, shall act in the same " manner as the English? No, certainly; for the " neutrality of a nation consists in granting to belli- " gerent powers the same advantages, and that neu- " trality no longer exists when, in the course of the " war, that neutral nation grants to one of the belli- " gerent powers, advantages not stipulated by treaties " anterior to the war, or suffers that power to seize " upon them."

Inclosed in this was a decree of the Executive Directory, to the following effect:

" The Executive Directory considering that if it " becomes the faith of the French nation to respect " treaties or conventions which secure to the " flags of some neutral or friendly powers com- " mercial advantages, the result of which is to be " common to the contracting powers; the same " advantages (if they should turn to the benefit of " our enemies, either through the weakness of our " allies or of neutrals, or through fear, through in- " terested views, or through whatever motives) " would *ipso facto* warrant the inexecution of the " articles in which they were stipulated;

" DECREE AS FOLLOWS:----All neutral or allied " powers shall, without delay, be notified that the " flag of the French republic will treat neutral ves- " sels, either as to confiscation, as to searches, or cap- " ture, in the same manner as they shall suffer the " English to treat them."

Never was any pretence more barefacedly fallacious than this. Its invalidity had been long before

exposed by Mr. Jefferson in his correspondence with M. Genet. And Mr. Pickering, the present Secretary of State, returned an answer to the effect, that

" The decree of the Directory made no distinction " between neutral powers claiming under the laws of " nations, and others with whom the French republic " had made special treaties."

" That in 1798, France voluntarily entered into a " commercial treaty with America, stipulating that " free ships should make free goods---and that the " United States being now at peace, possessed by " that treaty the right of carrying the goods of the " enemies of France."

The decree of the Executive Directory demanded a renunciation of this right. And on what grounds? The French minister himself had stated the reason in his note in these words: " *France,* " *bound by treaty to the United States, could find* only " a real disadvantage in the articles of that treaty " which caused to be respected as American property, English property found on board American " vessels."

The Secretary insisted that " America had not for- " feited her claim to the observance of the stipula- " tions, as she had most impartially observed the laws " of neutrality."

" The English (he said) had not laid any new re- " straints on American commerce; government, on " the contrary, having recently received official infor- " mation that no new orders had been issued. The " captures made by the British, of American vessels, " with French property on board, were warranted by

"the law of nations, which was understood by "France when she made that treaty."

The Secretary then adverted to a note which had been given in by Genet on the 29th September, 1793, and said—

"Can it be a matter of surprise that there should "be a repugnance to answer a letter containing such "insinuations as these: 'It must then be clear to "every man who will discard prejudices, love, ha- "tred, and in a word all the passions which lead the "judgment astray, that the French republic would "have a right to complain, if the American govern- "ment suffered the English to interrupt the commer- "cial relations which exist between her and the Uni- "ted States; if, by a perfidious *condescension*, it per- "mitted the English to violate a right which *it ought* "*for its own honour and interest to defend;* if, *under* "*the cloak of neutrality*, it presented to England a "poniard to cut the throat of its faithful ally; if, in "fine, *partaking in the tyrannical and homicidal rage* "*of Great Britain*, it concurred to plunge the peo- "ple of France into the horrors of famine.' "For "the sake of preserving harmony, (added Mr. Pick- "ering,) silence was preferred to a comment on this "letter."

Respecting that part of Adet's note which charged the American government with not making known the steps it had taken to obtain satisfaction for the impressing of seamen by the British, the Secretary replied, "This, Sir, was a matter which only con- "cerns the government of the United States. As

" an independent nation, we are not bound to render " an account to any other, of the measures we deem- " ed proper for the protection of our own citizens."

He then demanded to know from the French minister, " Whether in the actual state of things our " commerce is considered as liable to suffer any new " restrictions on the part of the French republic? " Whether the restraints now exercised by the Bri- " tish government are considered as of a nature to " justify a denial of those rights which are pledged to " us by our treaty with your nation? Whether orders " have been actually given to the ships of war and " privateers of the French republic to capture the " vessels of the United States, and what, if they ex- " ist, are the terms of those orders?"

Adet's note was dated 27th of October—on the 31st it appeared in full in the Gazette devoted to the service of the French republic---the Aurora. These gross infractions Mr. Pickering felt it his duty to notice, which he did in the following words :

" I shall close this letter by one remark on the " singularity of your causing the publication of your " note. As it concerned the United States, it was " (properly) addressed to its government---to which " alone pertained the right of communicating it, in " such time and manner as it should think fit, to the " citizens of the United States."

The Aurora, now throwing off all disguise, stood forth as the avowed Gazette of France. On the 5th of November, Adet issued through the medium of that paper a proclamation, ordering all Frenchmen to wear the tri-coloured cockade, in order, as he said,

" *to draw a line of demarcation* between them and " those contemptible beings, whose unfeeling hearts " are callous to the sacred name of native land, to the " noble pride with which the freeman is animated by " the sense of his independence. Thus you will " signalize those *still more degraded beings*, who be- " ing *sold to the enemies of the republic, drag from* " *clime to clime a life overwhelmed with misery and* " *contempt---wretches whom history will not call to* " *remembrance, except to perpetuate their disgrace.*"

On the 16th Adet announced TO THE PEOPLE, through the same channel, that he had that day notified to the Secretary of State the suspension of the functions of the minister plenipotentiary of the French republic; to which the French printer superadded his intimation, that " the dissatisfaction of the " French government at the conduct of our executive " towards them, was the ground of the measure." And on the 21st of November appeared in the columns of that infamous print the note given in by Adet to the Secretary of the United States on the occasion, to the length of 50 octavo pages, and which accused the American government of *insidious neutrality---of chicanery, and abandoning French privateers* to courts of justice; of meanness, prostitution, treachery and ingratitude. He then tells the people (for it was for their ears he designed it) that the Convention had ordered their vessels to be captured; and " Now, (says he,) if the execution of these measures gives " rise to complaints in the United States, IT IS " NOT AGAINST FRANCE they should be directed, " BUT AGAINST THOSE MEN WHO HAVE ENTERED

"INTO NEGOTIATIONS CONTRARY TO THE IN-
"TERESTS OF THEIR COUNTRY."

Every one who knows the usage of nations, understands that the right of making communications of this nature to the people of a state has ever belonged to its government alone, and is indispensably essential to the existence of every government. From all these rules of propriety the French faction thought themselves absolved whenever it answered their purpose. When in power they more tenaciously than the ministers of the most despotic monarchies refused publicity to their intercourse with foreign courts, and closed the doors of Congress against the people. When out of power, they, in the most flagrant violation of all decency, disclosed to the public their communications to their government, for the purpose of making the people chief arbiters of the public affairs, and exciting them against their lawful governors. In this instance Adet absolutely pointed to the President, Senate, and officers of State, and little less than said "Put down those men, cut "their throats, and elect men fitter for the pur-"poses of the French republic."

Washington had in the commencement of the last session, 1797, laid before Congress the allegations of the French minister on the part of the Executive Directory, together with a detailed account of all the controversies between the two cabinets, and a defence of the measures of America, together with ample documents to establish the facts. So obvious were the truths, so stub-

born the facts, and so irresistible the reasoning upon them, that he conceived it impossible for the government of France not to be convinced and satisfied: but at all events, he was secure in his own thoughts that in America the influence of this paper would be complete and exceptionless. Well as he knew the baseness of all demagogues, the profligacy of the democratic body, and the influence of the French faction, it is not surprising that he should have felt the persuasion that all accusations against the government of the United States would now be at an end; but for once, he was wrong; his paternal feelings for his countrymen made him overrate their public virtue exceedingly. The parties opposed to his government, antifederal, democratic, and jacobin, (for still they ought to be contemplated in these distinct classes of vice,) were determined that his reasonings should not avail, and indeed that they should not, if possible, be read. The same censures were repeated, and the same invectives were poured forth upon his system of administration; the criminations and recriminations of party increased, and the country seemed as if it were already like the plains of Belgium of old, an unowned ground, a kind of martial theatre on which the battles of France and England were to be fought, and the American people underwent the degrading reproach, from each other, of being no longer animated by American patriotism, but of having degenerated into slaves of British and of French influence. Washington saw from his retirement this obstinate adherence to France with regret, and it was the

only cloud which hung over the setting sun of his life. He abstracted himself as much as possible, but still continued to be agitated by those appearances, and frequently wrote to his friends upon the subject. "I have confidence, however," said he, "in that Providence which has shielded the United "States from the evils that have hitherto threat- "ened them; and as I believe the major part of "this country to be well affected to its Constitution "and government, I rest satisfied that should a crisis "ever arise to call forth the sense of the commu- "nity, it will be strong in support of the honour "and dignity of the nation."

The time now arrived when it became impossible for the most wilful prejudice to be any longer blind to the conduct of the French government, which now came forth in a shape not at all dubious or equivocal, but openly fraught with hostile and dangerous designs against the tranquillity and independence of America. It has already been mentioned that General Pinckney was sent over as minister plenipotentiary with the purpose in written terms expressed, of *maintaining the good understanding which, from the commencement of the alliance, had subsisted between the two nations; and to efface unfavourable impressions, banish suspicions, and restore that cordiality which was at once the evidence and the pledge of a friendly union.* Not only was this purpose explicitly avowed to the French government, but General Pinckney's instructions were peremptory and unequivocal to that effect.

The Directory upon reading his letter of credence, declared in the most overbearing and insolent manner, that "They would not receive a minister "from the United States until the grievances com- "plained of should be redressed to the full amount "demanded of the American government, and which "the French republic had a right to expect." This was followed by much verbal insult; offered, as it was well understood, for the purpose of forcing General Pinckney to leave France; but his magnanimity and temperate firmness having frustrated them in this base project, they ordered him by written mandate to quit the territories of France. On receiving the order, General Pinckney proceeded to Amsterdam, where he purposed to wait for instructions from his government. During his residence at Paris cards of hospitality were refused him, and he was threatened with being subjected to the jurisdiction of the minister of police. But with that firmness which distinguishes the name of Pinckney, he insisted on the protection of the law of nations, due to him as the known minister of a foreign power. An act of more indecorous and rancorous hostility, one would imagine, could hardly have been resorted to; yet, as if afraid that they had not been sufficiently explicit in that mode of manifesting their dislike, they accompanied it with one of a still more aggravating nature. On Mr. Monroe's demanding his audience of leave, the President of the Directory made him a speech in which he mingled the most fulsome, insidious, and adulatory expressions of friendship for the people

of the United States, with the most outrageous invectives upon its government. In the mean time letters of marque were issued by the French government, and every American vessel that could be found was captured by their national cruisers and privateers, and under false pretences condemned as lawful prize.

This was but the sequel, or rather the second act of the piece, which, with the aid of their American partisans, they had so long been playing in the United States, and which they had with such fatal success performed in every part of Europe; their great master-key of policy, by which they stole, like thieves in the night, upon the unwary, and burglariously got possession of their habitations and property: in other words, they separated the people from their respective governments, and their influence over the former, controuled the latter, till they destroyed and subjected both. When it is remembered that this has been uniformly, without one single nation standing as an exception to it, their plan, and that in every country where the fidelity and firmness of the government has resisted their seductive arts, they have never intermitted in their efforts to raise the people's doubts, suspicions and hostility against it, it is fair to infer that whenever the rulers of France are found to be on good terms with the executive government of any nation, and the agents and ministers of France, instead of appealing to the people against it, as they did in the case of Washington, give the whole force of their corrupt influence to strengthen that government, to render it popular,

and to crush all opposition to it, that they have corrupted over that government to their sinister purposes, and made IT the master-key to steal into the possession of the country.

Immediately, on receiving General Pinckney's dispatches which communicated this extravagant and unparalleled outrage, the President (ADAMS) called the Congress, and in an admirable speech laid the whole affair before them, with observations worthy of a high spirited patriotic Chief Magistrate, who felt acutely for the honour and interests of his country. He dwelt particularly upon the speech of the President of the Directory to Mr. Monroe, as disclosing purposes of the most alarming and dangerous nature, as well as fraught with intolerable contumely and insult, and evincing a design to separate the people from their government, and to produce divisions fatal to the peace of the Union. He said, that all such attempts ought to be repelled with a decision which should convince France and the world, that Americans were not a degraded people, humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear and sense of inferiority, or fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign influence, without regard to national honour or their own character and interest. He said, it was his desire to preserve peace and friendship with all nations, and that believing neither the honour nor the interest of the United States absolutely forbid the repetition of advances for effecting these objects, he would again attempt an accommodation on terms compatible with the rights,

duties, interests and honour of the nation; so that if errors had been committed, and could be demonstrated, they should be corrected; if injuries had been done to France, they should, on conviction, be redressed: but while making these endeavours, he earnestly recommended to Congress to provide effectual means of defence. On this representation no time was lost, but conformably to these professions, the President appointed three envoys extraordinary, to effect an accommodation. General Pinckney was at the head of the mission.

Except by those who have witnessed the turpitude and patricidal conduct of the French faction in America, it could not be believed that on such a representation of insult and wrong, there could be the slightest difference of opinion, or that there could exist an American base enough to wish for a compromise with an unprovoked outrage, which of itself amounted to a declaration of war. But well known as the democratic body now must be, it will create little surprise that a motion of amendment made by a jacobin member of the name of Coit, base, degrading and timid as it was, should have fifty supporters, and in the event be carried. The answer of the representatives to the President's speech, as it was first reported, contained these words: "We "cannot hesitate in expressing our indignation *at the* "*sentiments disclosed by the President of the Execu-* "*tive Directory* of France in his speech," &c. This worthy representative of a free people moved to strike out the words marked with italic, and to substitute in their place these words: "ANY SENTI-

"MENTS *tending to derogate from that confidence*— "Such sentiments, WHEREVER ENTERTAINED, "serve to evince an imperfect knowledge OF THE "REAL OPINION OF OUR CONSTITUENTS." Never was there a more abject confession of fear—never a more pusillanimous trick to avoid offending the Directory. They were afraid---(said a celebrated political writer)---the poor fallen creatures were afraid, not only to resent the insult, but even to point out the power by whom they had been insulted.*

The French faction and its adherents still, without reserve or concealment, justified the conduct of the Directory, and threw upon the American government the whole blame of these outrages, publicly alleging and circulating through the medium of the press, and in every other imaginable shape, that the French republic had just cause of war against America, and that the only way the latter (their own country) could wash away their offences, or in the law phrase, "purge her contempt," was by recalling and renouncing every act she had done, and by complying with the will of her generous, just, magnani-

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* Let those who forgot they were Americans on this day, and played with their bombastical speeches and tricking amendments into the hands of France, hang forever on the gibbet of historical record, for the benefit of posterity.

EVANS, NICHOLAS, GILES, COIT, DAYTON, LIVINGSTON, SWANWICK.—The name of Gallatin does not deserve a place in the list, because he is not an American—he is a Swiss—and we all know the meaning of the old French adage, *point de l'argent, point de Suisse.*

mous and injured ally, France. On this occasion, the father of his country delivered from his Mount Vernon retirement his sentiments to his friends, and occasionally his advice. As the time will come, if it does not now exist, when his words will carry with them the weight of inspiration, they ought to be recorded. "He declared he had no apprehensions "that the French government would go to practical "extremities; and said that the hostile attitude it "had assumed was to be exclusively ascribed to the "conduct of those Americans who had uniformly "advocated all the pretensions of France—and that "under the old pretext of magnanimous forbearance, "the Executive Directory would slowly and gradu- "ally recede from its present system."

It was not till the latter end of the year 1798, that the President received letters containing any certain intelligence of the progress of negotiation at Paris—that intelligence was very unfavourable, and was followed, in some time after, with an unequivocal account of the total rejection of his overtures for accommodation, attended with circumstances of such outrageous insult as no government that ever existed before that of France, was base enough to give, nor any people upon earth, the French faction in America alone excepted, were ever base enough willingly to endure.

And here, in order to stamp upon those recreants to their country, the character which belongs to them, so that they may remain warning monuments of shame to the present generation and to posterity, it may not be amiss to give a detail of the series of in-

sults which were offered to America by the French rulers, and unblushingly justified by the democrats.

In the first place, exception was taken to the envoys personally, because they were said to be taken from the federal party which had supported the measures of their government, and thereby given umbrage to the Directory. This was well known by them to be a palpable falsehood, as one of the three (Mr. Gerry) was selected from the opposition. Were this principle however, to be admitted still there was no reason whatever, why it should not be carried to its utmost extent, and operate against negotiating with the executive itself, because the President was known to be a federalist. Yet under this and other paltry and false pretences, they refused for some time to acknowledge our envoys as the ministers of an independent nation. In the next place the envoys were informed that before any reconciliation could take place, or even any negotiation be entered upon for the accommodation of the differences between the two countries, a sum of money by way of tribute, must be paid by the United States as an express preliminary to their proceeding. This impudent demand with which it would have been criminal to comply, not only as it would deeply wound the independence of the United States, but probably implicate them with Great Britain in a war for a violation of neutrality, was of course refused. But dexterous in the use of their constant machine, that mixture of fraud and force—of menace and deception which had answered their purpose so often on other occasions, they were not to be repulsed by a single nega-

tive, however decided—and being again refused, they, with astonishing perseverance, resorted to a repetition of the demand, accompanied with every artifice and every suggestion which they thought capable of operating, either upon the fears of the envoys for themselves personally, or on their anxieties and apprehension for their country. They exhibited to them in the glowing colours of French gasconade, the fate of some of the powers of Europe, once proud, potent and prosperous, but now prostrate at their feet in ruins, and others just nodding to their foundations. They held up the fate of Venice as a warning which America would do well to avoid—they assured the ministers that their obstinacy in resisting the reasonable tribute required, would not be approved of by *the people* of the United States; and they gave them to understand that the Directory possessed the power in America, to render them odious to their fellow-citizens, and to destroy their popularity; and that it would not fail to employ that power to their disadvantage, should they refuse to comply.*

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* That the Directory, and every body of men that governed France before it, possessed the power they here pretended to, cannot possibly be doubted. They had numerous steady voting partisans in Congress—partisans in the whole of the jacobin faction, in the democrats, in a great portion of the anti-federalists, and in the jacobin prints, particularly in the Aurora. Nor did the abominable tyranny, murders and robberies of Bonaparte cause a defection in many of them. In Carolina, (where the very name of Pinckney ever excited just respect, and conveyed every idea of honour, virtue and excellence, where not one

What shall be said of the treatment of those envoys? What of those guilty, base Americans who could bend the knee to such national insults, and hail with approbation the offenders? When the infamous propositions made to General Pinckney and his associate envoys for tribute, were made known in America, and the indignation of the people at large was too violent to be resisted, and too awful to be despised, and the whole world besides concurred in execrating the wretches who proposed them, the democratic faction in America immediately asserted with the most unblushing confidence, that the whole was a falsehood, fabricated by the federalists of Philadelphia for the purpose of rendering the French government odious. Impudent and ridiculous as this forgery was, it still was swallowed by the people, and answered the purpose for which it was intended, that

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single act of party rancour had ever been attributed to General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, so calmly and generously has he carried himself, and where malice has never been able to breathe upon him,) such was the effect of the French influence upon the people, that without any charge being made or even pretended to be made against that admirable man, he was rendered so odious to the SOVEREIGN PEOPLE, that stupid wretches have been known to refuse to pass the ferry at Haddrell's Point, because one of the boats bore the name of The General Pinckney, which was painted on her stern sheets; nay, have waited four hours, to their great loss, for another boat, rather than *honour* that gentleman so far as to sit on one that bore his name. Ludicrous and extravagant as this may appear, it is a fact; and was vouched to the writer of this by the owner of the boats, who was himself a pretty warm anti-federalist.

of deceiving the ignorant democrats. The practical consequence of it was, that the democrats succeeded in having a jacobin returned at the following election. The directorial agents at length carried their offensiveness so far that the patience of the envoys was wearied out, and they peremptorily refused to carry on any further an intercourse so disgraceful to their country, and declined all communication with the persons employed in it. They however continued to press the Directory to an accommodation. The Directory persevered in its refusal to acknowledge them, and through one of its Secretaries still pushed the demand for money, on which the American ministers had already put so decided a negative. In this dilemma, our envoys resolved to execute as far as it was in their power, the duty assigned to them by their country. For this purpose they wrote a letter directed to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in which they urged the advantages that would result to both republics from an amicable accommodation—entered at large into the necessary explanation intrusted to them, and endeavoured to impress upon the French government a just sense of the friendly disposition of the American. This had as little effect as their former efforts. The Directory, by its Secretary Charles De la Croix, returned an answer couched in the most impudent and hostile terms, full of bitter invectives and criminatory charges against the American government. It may serve as a further clue to the atrocious conspiracy carried on between the democratic faction in America, and the French rulers, to state that this very answer of the French minister replete with traitorous charges

against the existing government of America, was transmitted by that minister to Bache, and by him published in that national pestilence and reservoir of treason, the Aurora, before ever it was known of or received by the said executive or any other person belonging to the American government.

Mortifying as it must be to every spirited American to reflect upon it, truth compels the historian to protest against the tameness with which the envoys still persevered---not as a fault in them personally, but as a proof of the abjection and corrupted state of the public mind of America, which rendered it necessary for the most honest and high-spirited of its citizens, to stoop to humiliation to France, in order to escape popular indignation at home. The fact is, that the democratic faction in America, who had absolutely excited the Directory to the perpetration of those outrages---who, alone, had suggested to it the topics of complaint against the federal government---who had furnished it with all its arguments, and encouraged it to look for pecuniary compensation for the injuries, which, according to the opinion of those *patriotic* Americans, the United States had done to France, secretly rejoiced at the humiliation of the envoys, most vigorously defended the conduct of the Directory, and openly and traitorously played into its hands, even when its cruisers waged open war upon the commerce of the Union, and captured and condemned every thing that sailed under its flag. Nor was the French government so much to be blamed when so many of the confidential trustees, the

elected representatives of the people, in debate in the great legislative council of the nation did, in order to justify the conduct of France, declare that the American government had violated its treaties with that country in refusing to join it in the war against England.

As the time is probably not very remote when new occurrences will have effaced from the public mind all recollection of the old, and nothing of the latter will remain but the evil passions and prejudices, and the mischievous and erroneous opinions which have been generated by them, it becomes the duty of the annalist to set down all the facts, lest they should roll down into oblivion with the more unimportant events of the time. This wicked compact against the true interests of America, under the fraudful, cosmopolitan guise of zeal for the rights of man and the world, must be transmitted to posterity with all its circumstances, traced to its origin, and laid at the doors of its authors. This shall be done in its proper place; when those who then fed the hopes of the Directory, and with more ample power and much less disguise, have continued to influence the abused people of America to a coalition with France, will be exhibited in their proper aspects and stripped of every disguise.

When the Directory found that they could not intimidate the American ministers, or awe them into compliance with their fraudulent demands, they put in practice every artful expedient to make them leave the country, without entailing upon themselves the reproach of having driven them away. Had the

envoys relinquished their appointments voluntarily, as the French Executive wished them to do, it would have been wrested to their wicked purposes, and set down in the catalogue of pretexts on which they grounded their complaints and hostilities against America. But General Pinckney and his associates were as resolute as the Directory were knavish, and would not move from their posts till they were ordered to quit the territories of the republic; with the exception of Mr. Gerry, who, in consideration of his belonging to that party of men in America who, by themselves, were called the friends, but by the Directory were considered as the property, of France, was permitted to remain behind, with an intimation that he might proceed with them upon the discussions which they would not continue with his two refractory federal associates, General Pinckney and Mr. Marshall.

No sooner had the intelligence of this violent proceeding reached America than the people, from one end of the country to the other, burst out in one blaze of indignation. The conduct of General Pinckney and his associate ministers was applauded to the skies; and the spirited and patriotic sentence of that gallant veteran, given in reply to the extortionable, peculatory demands of the directorial agents, "MILLIONS FOR DEFENCE—NOT A CENT FOR TRIBUTE"—was the sentiment of every heart, and incessantly resounded from every corner of the Union. To this universal expression of the public feelings, the leaders of the democratic faction were deaf. The voice of the American people was no-

thing in their estimation when opposed to the will of the Directory---or rather their hearts, exclusively devoted to the accursed doctrine of jacobinism, were insensible to the calls of their country, and they were base and abandoned enough still to defend the conduct of the Directory, and after having deluded their fellow-citizens into drinking of the cup of disgrace to the bottom, again held it to their lips, and would insist upon their draining it to the very dregs. They not only justified France, but accused the executive and its diplomatic agents of misrepresentation, and of deceiving the people, under the influence of British intrigue and corruption. For once they were deceived in their expectations---for neither their assertions were believed, their sentiments approved of, or their arguments assented to. The voice of the people was for open war rather than the subtile, wasting, *ex parte* hostility of France, in which America underwent all the evils, without any of the advantages of warfare. Congress entered upon the business with an earnestness worthy of their holy cause; a regular army was ordered to be raised, and from all parts of the nation the President received addresses approving of his conduct, and expressing a determination to resist with energy and spirit the insolent and unprovoked encroachments of France.

Mr. Gerry's consenting to remain in Paris upon the sufferance of the Directory, after his colleagues had been ordered away, says nothing in favour of his national pride, whatever it may of his policy; in which latter point of view it cannot strike any one as

very meritorious. The honest, sturdy Secretary (Mr. Timothy Pickering) disapproved of it entirely, and in pretty severe terms rebuked him for not having taken his departure with Generals Pinckney and Marshall. "The respect due to yourselves and "to your country (said Mr. Pickering) irresistibly "required that you should turn your backs to a "government that treated both with contempt; a "contempt not diminished but aggravated by the "flattering but insidious distinction in *your* favour, "in disparagement of men of so respectable talents, "untainted honour and pure patriotism as Generals, "Pinckney and Marshall, and in whom the govern-"ment and their country reposed entire confidence; "and especially when the real object of that distinc-"tion was to enable the French government, tram-"pling on the authority and dignity of our own, to "designate an envoy with whom they would conde-"scend to negotiate. It is therefore to be regretted "that you did not concur with your colleagues in "demanding passports to quit the territories of the "French republic some time before they left Paris."

The meeting of Congress was looked for with more than common anxiety by the people, who were eager to know what temper and language their chief magistrate would exhibit in this trying emergency. The conduct of the French rulers had sufficiently evinced their dislike to the present administration, and it was known that Mr. Adams entertained no great predilection for them. The faction however still flattered themselves with the hope that the cause

of France would be borne out in the House of Representatives.

On Tuesday the 16th of May, Congress assembled, and the President delivered a speech which fully coincided with the public opinion and may be said to have spoken the very heart and soul of America. He displayed in glowing colours the wrongs done by France to this country, and the insolence with which those wrongs were accompanied.

"After the President of the United States (said "he) received information that the French govern- "ment had expressed serious discontent, at some "proceedings of the government of these States, "said to affect the interests of France, he thought it "expedient to send to that country a new minister "fully instructed to enter on such amicable discus- "sions and to give such candid explanations as "might happily remove the discontent and suspicion "of the French government, and vindicate the con- "duct of the United States. For this purpose he "selected from among his fellow-citizens the cha- "racter whose integrity, talents, experience and "services had placed him in the rank of the most "esteemed and respected in the nation. The direct "object of his mission was expressed in his letters "of credence to the French republic, being to "maintain that good understanding which from the "commencement of the alliance had subsisted be- "tween the two nations, and to efface unfavourable "impressions, banish suspicions, and restore that "cordiality which was at once the evidence and "pledge of a friendly union. And his instruc-

" tions were to the same effect, faithfully to represent " the disposition of the government and people of " the United States; their disposition being one, to " remove jealousies and obviate complaints by shew- " ing that they were groundless; to restore that " mutual confidence which had been so unfortunately " and injuriously impaired, and to explain the rela- " tive interests of both countries, and the real senti- " ments of his own.

" A minister thus specially commissioned, it was " expected would have proved the instrument of " restoring mutual confidence between the two re- " publics—the first step of the French government " corresponded with that expectation. A few days " before his arrival at Paris, the French minister of " foreign relations informed the American minister " then resident at Paris, of the formalities to be ob- " served by himself in taking leave and by his suc- " cessor preparatory to his reception. These for- " malities they observed; and on the 9th Decem- " ber, presented officially to the minister of foreign " relations, the one a copy of his letters of re- " call—the other, a copy of his letters of credence. " These were laid before the Executive Directory. " Two days afterwards, the minister of foreign rela- " tions informed the recalled American minister, that " the Executive Directory had determined not to " receive another minister plenipotentiary from the " United States until after the redress of grievances " demanded of the American government, and which " the French republic had a right to expect from " it. The American minister immediately endea-

" voured to ascertain whether, by refusing to receive
" him, it was intended that he should retire from the
" territories of the French republic, and verbal as-
" surances were given that such was the inten-
" tion of the Directory. For his own justification he
" desired a written answer, but obtained none until
" the last of January, when receiving notice in wri-
" ting to quit the territories of the republic, he pro-
" ceeded to Amsterdam, where he proposed to wait
" for instructions from this government. During
" his residence at Paris, cards of hospitality were
" refused him, and he was threatened with being
" subjected to the jurisdiction of the minister of
" police—but with becoming firmness he insisted
" on the protection of the law of nations due to him
" as the known minister of a foreign power. You
" will derive farther information from his dispatches,
" which will be laid before you.

" As it is often necessary that nations should treat
" for the mutual advantage of their affairs, and
" especially to accommodate and terminate differ-
" ences, as they can treat only by ministers, the
" right of embassy is well known and established by
" the law and usage of nations; the refusal on the
" part of France to receive and hear our minister is
" then the denial of a right—but the refusal to re-
" ceive him until we have acceded to their demands,
" without discussion and without investigation, is to
" treat us neither as allies, nor as friends, nor as a
" sovereign state.

" With this conduct of the French government it
" will be proper to take into view the public audience

"given to the late minister of the United States, on "his taking leave of the Executive Directory. The "speech of the President discloses sentiments more "alarming than the refusal of a minister, because "more dangerous to our independence and union; "and at the same time studiously marked with in- "dignities towards the government of the United "States. It evinces a disposition to separate the "people of these States from the government—to "persuade them that they have different affections, "principles and interests from those of their fellow- "citizens, whom they themselves have chosen to "manage their common concerns, and thus to pro- "duce divisions fatal to our peace. Such attempts "ought to be repelled with a decision which shall "convince France and the world that we are not a "degraded people, humiliated under a colonial spirit "of fear and sense of inferiority, fitted to be the "miserable instruments of foreign influence, and "regardless of national honour, character and in- "terests.

"I should have been happy to have thrown a veil "over these transactions, if it had been possible to "conceal them; but they have passed on the great "theatre of the world, in the face of all Europe and "America, and with such circumstances of pub- "licity and solemnity that they cannot be disguised, "and will not soon be forgotten: they have inflicted "a wound in the American breast. It is my sincere "desire, however, that it may be healed; it is my "sincere desire, and in this I presume I concur with

" you and with our constituents, to preserve peace " and friendship with all nations; and believing that " neither the honour nor the interest of the United " States absolutely forbid the repetition of advances " for securing those desirable objects with France, I " shall institute a fresh attempt at negotiation, and " shall not fail to promote and accelerate an accom- " modation on terms compatible with the rights, " duties, interests and honour of the nation. If we " have committed errors, and these can be demon- " strated, we shall be willing to correct them; if we " have done injuries, we shall be willing, on convic- " tion, to redress them; and equal measures of jus- " tice we have a right to expect from France and " every other nation. The diplomatic intercourse " between the United States and France being at " present suspended, the government has no mean of " obtaining official information from that country.— " Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the " Executive Directory passed a decree on the 2d " March last, contravening in part the treaty of amity " and commerce of 1778, injurious to our lawful " commerce and endangering the lives of our citi- " zens. A copy of their decree will be laid before " you."

The speech then recommended the immediate establishment of a naval and military force to protect the country and its commerce against hostile attacks. The President then continued:

" It is impossible to conceal from ourselves or " the world what has been before observed, that " endeavours have been employed to foster and es-

"tablish a division between the government and "people of the United States. To investigate the "causes which have encouraged this attempt is "not necessary, but to repel by decided and united "councils insinuations so derogatory to the honour, "and aggressions so dangerous to the Constitution, "union, and even independence of the nation, is "an indispensable duty.

"It must not be permitted to be doubted whe-"ther the people of the United States will support "the government established by their voluntary con-"sent, and appointed by their free choice, or "whether, by surrendering themselves to the di-"rection of foreign and domestic factions in oppo-"sition to their own government, they will forfeit "the honourable station they have hitherto main-"tained."

The intrepid spirit and animated language of the President was approved by the people and followed up by a determined resolution on their part and on the part of Congress, to resist every encroachment that France might offer. And it may be doubted whether Washington himself at any period of his administration was more generally popular, or viewed with more favourable regard, than Mr. Adams was at this crisis by his fellow-citizens. Nor could any thing be more natural than this elevated high-spirited deportment of the American people. They had yet been but partially and slightly tainted by jacobinism. Hitherto their rulers were men steadily, and on sound principles of moral and political philosophy, hostile to that accursed doctrine

and its associate views. Executive power and executive patronage had not then been prostituted to the purposes of France, or the propagation of French principles; nor was the spirit of the nation killed and cast into one common grave with its murdered morals and fame, by patricidal assassins paid with her places of trust, and bribed with her official emoluments. The aristocracy of wisdom and virtue had not then been denounced as liberticide, nor had vice, knavery, and stupidity been voted, as they have been since on principle, into the chief magistracy of any of the States.* The people still were in heart Americans, and wishing well to France, wished their own country better.

The Congress, in their answer from both Houses to the President's speech, expressed the perfect coincidence of their opinions with his, their confidence in his wisdom, and in the spirit of the country, and their detemination to support the Executive in such measures as the exigencies of the country should require. And they proceeded with earnestness and alacrity in making the necessary provisions and arrangements for war, if war should be found expedient. They enacted laws, prohibiting the exportation, and encouraging the importation of arms and ammunition—providing for the defence of the forts and harbours of the Union, for making detachments of the militia, for providing an addi-

* See the election of Governor of Pennsylvania in October, 1808.

tional armament for the protection of the trade of the United States and other purposes, providing an additional regiment of artillerists and engineers, for building a number of vessels of war, and suspending the commercial intercourse between the United States and France.

The commencement of open hostilities between France and America bore ample testimony to the prowess of the latter, and in the very first engagement the officers and crew of the Constellation under the command of the gallant Truxton evinced to the world that neither the separation of the States from Great Britain, nor the difference of climate, situation and government, nor even the animosities that prevailed between them had emptied their veins of the parent blood, or deprived them of the hereditary hardihood and valour of Britons. The Constellation carrying only thirty-eight guns, and unpractised in naval tactics, and inexperienced in warfare, captured after a severe engagement, L'Insurgent of forty guns. Wherever American armed vessels met French, they were uniformly victorious: but in every instance the victors were attacked, and their laurels were attempted to be stained by the democratic faction.

It is not to be wondered at that almost every bosom glowed with virtuous indignation against their insolent foes, or that in a crisis of such danger they should one and all, simultaneously look for aid to Washington, that old and immovable rock of their national salvation. It was a severe trial—again to be called forth from the tranquil re-

tirement in which he had hoped to solace and to nurse the little residue of life that was left him, and to launch his worn bark again upon the tempestuous ocean of public service. Yet he determined in his own mind not to refuse, but to reserve to himself the right of keeping aloof till actual invasion made his services necessary. His views of the affair, and his correspondence with his friends are uncommonly interesting, and as they exhibit the wisdom which illumined his mind, and the ardent love of country that animated and warmed his bosom, now covered with the hoar of old age, they ought to be preserved as the most precious relics in the sanctuary of the nation. His beloved Hamilton, the confidential depository of his most secret thoughts, and the chosen counsellor of his private and public life, wrote to him that in the event of a war with France he would be called upon to tear himself from that repose to which he had so good a right. "It is the opinion of all "those with whom I converse, (said he,) that you "will be compelled to make the sacrifice. All "your past labours may demand, to give their "efficacy this further, this very great sacrifice." In his answer the great man expressed his determination to render all the services in his power: "But, (con-"tinued he,) dark as matters appear at present, and "expedient as it is to be prepared for the worst "that can happen, I cannot make up my mind "yet for the expectation of open war, or, in other "words, for a formidable invasion by France. I "cannot believe, *although I think her capable of any*

" *thing*, that she will attempt to do more than she " has done. When she perceives the spirit and " policy of this country rising to resistance, and that " *she has falsely calculated for support from a large* " *part of the people* to promote her views and " influence in it, she will desist from these prac- " tices, unless unexpected events in Europe, or " the acquisition of Louisiana and the Floridas should " induce her to continue them. And I believe " further, that although the leaders of the party in " this country will not change their sentiments they " will be obliged to change their plan, or the " mode of carrying it on. The effervescence which " is appearing in all quarters, and the desertion of " their followers will frown them into silence, at " least for a while."

Soon after, Washington received a letter from the President on the subject of preparation for defence. " We must have your name, (said the " latter,) if you will in any case permit us to use it. " There will be more efficacy in it than in many an " army." Washington's answer to this is so openly declaratory of his opinion of the French, that it would be injustice not to record, at least such parts of it as relate to that country.

" This seems (said Washington) to be the age " of wonders. And it is reserved for intoxicated " and lawless France to slaughter her own citizens, " and disturb the repose of the world besides.

" I cannot bring my mind to believe, regardless " as the French are of treaties, and of the laws of " nations, and capable as I conceive them to " be of any species of despotism and injustice,

" that they will attempt to invade this country after " such an uniform and unequivocal expression of " the determination of the people in all parts to op- " pose them with their lives and fortunes. *That* " *they have been led to believe, by their agents* " *and partisans among us, that we are a divided* " *people, that the people are opposed to their own* " *government*, and that the show of a small force " would occasion a revolt, I have no doubt; and " how far these men grown desperate, will further " attempt to deceive, and may succeed in keeping " up the deception, is problematical. Without that, " the folly of the Directory in such an attempt " would be more conspicuous, if possible, than their " wickedness."

Washington accepted the command in chief, with a special reserve of being permitted to select such officers as he pleased for the high departments of the army and the military staff. No man could know so well as he did the respective merits of every officer in the service; his selection on this important occasion may therefore be considered as a perfect criterion by which to measure the military talents and general qualities of the leading officers of the Union. The following is the list according to his selection.

General Alexander Hamilton, Inspector.
—— Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.
—— Henry Knox.
—— Henry Lee.
—— John Brooks.
—— William S. Smith.
—— John E. Howard.

In another letter written 13th July, 1798, to the President, Washington speaks thus of the French:—

It was not possible for me to remain ignorant "of, or indifferent to, recent transactions. The "conduct of the Directory of France towards "our country; their insidious hostility to its go- "vernment; their various practices to withdraw "the affections of the people from it; the evident "tendency of their arts, and those of their agents to "countenanee and invigorate opposition; their dis- "regard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations; "their war upon our defenceless commerce; their "treatment of our ministers of peace; and their "demands, amounting to tribute, could not fail to "excite in me sentiments corresponding with those "my countrymen have so generally expressed in "their affectionate addresses to you."

The event justified the prognostications of Wash, ington. No sooner had America appeared, as every nation ought under such circumstances to appear, prepared to repel aggressions by force of arms, than the insolent Directory assumed an attitude of respect, and expressed a desire to come to an accommodation upon a reasonable basis of pacification. The President was no less solicitous than the Directory to come to amicable adjustment. Three envoys were in the later end of 1799, dispatched to France for the purposes of negotiation.

The outrageous conduct of the Directory would appear utterly inexplicable if that of the French

faction in America were not at hand to throw a light upon it. Actively and industriously as the friends of France had for so many years employed themselves in attempts to establish the influence of that country in supremacy over America, and boldly as they had advanced, and far as they had gone to corrupt the public mind, and render it proselyte to the counsels of France and the democratic faction, the far larger majority of the people remained sound and true to American principles. But the opposition, in order to effectuate their purpose, and induce the French rulers to bring forth all their energies, still persuaded them that a great majority of the people were French in heart, that the country was divided, that the administration was in reality unpopular, and that if they could only put the federal party out of the government, and place the democratic in power, the event would be correspondent to their most sanguine hopes. It was in pursuance to this scheme of policy M. Adet wrote his insolent letter to the Secretary of State during the election for President, to influence the public in favour of Mr. Jefferson, and against Mr. Adams. And it was evidently for purposes of a similar complexion that the Directory acted in the unreasonable and audacious manner that has been described. Persuaded by their agents in America that the people would go hand in hand with them in opposition to their government, if that government should be bold enough to hazard going to war, they had recourse to those measures of wrong and violence, not with any real expectation of going to war, but with the

most sanguine hope of overthrowing the administration, and placing the reins in the hands of those who uniformly supported the pretensions of the French rulers, and were believed in France, and in America were suspected of a disposition to sacrifice every thing, and even to prostrate their country at the feet of that unruly and insatiably ambitious republic. When they found, therefore, that they had greatly overrated their power and influence in the Union, and that the people so unanimously rallied round their government, they directly stopt short, and, war not being their real object, endeavoured to restore themselves by concession, to the friendship they had forfeited, and the partiality with which they were viewed by the American people, and which they had lost, for the time at least, by their injustice and insolence.

While the negotiation with France was going on at Paris, the United States lost their father, their champion, their adviser, and their guide—all that was mortal of Washington died. From what has already been said, some conception may be formed of those feelings, and demonstrations of grief which in every part of the Union were displayed upon that occasion. Upon no man that ever lived and died has panegyric so lavishly poured forth her stores, or so proudly displayed the inexhaustible copiousness of her invention—nor length of time, nor frequency of repetition have impaired the delight which men feel in speaking or hearing his praise, and orators and authors, when declaiming upon national subjects, seem to feel that their exercitations are incomplete, and their orations not perfectly legitimate, if they omit

to introduce that darling subject of their nation. It may perhaps be asserted of Washington more than of any other man, that barely to recount his life and actions is to praise him most—yet where shall oratory which loves to enrich its effusions with those grand, lively, natural images, and those magnificent ideas that exhibit virtue in her noblest attitude, look for a subject on which to expatiate, if not in the character of a personage so eminently fitted as that of Washington, to receive all the ornaments of grave and splendid eloquence—a personage whose actions afford so many and such illustrious instances of wisdom, disinterestedness and devotion to his country's service? What can more tend to inspire mankind with exalted sentiments than the contemplation of a man, in adversity majestic and inflexible---in prosperity, modest---in difficulties, sagacious, firm and prudent, and in the worst dangers, unshaken and intrepid---intrepid not from that vain-glorious rashness which seeks danger merely for the applauses of men, but from that wise and well regulated hardihood which knows how to measure the value and the hazards of enterprise, and for the good of country will attempt it, however difficult; but will not attempt it if impossible, and leaves nothing to hazard that can be effected by power. Such was Washington by whom the storms that ravaged his country were appeased, and the licentiousness that endangered it was repressed, by whom order and repose were established in full vigour, calm and tranquillity called forth from the tempest of civil war, and the States of America raised from their ruins and erected into a proud and

powerful empire. No man ever possessed more than Washington, the happiness of attaching to him by bonds of veneration, gratitude and affection, those whom it was his duty as a General to command, or as a Magistrate to govern. By his firmness and authoritative deportment, he made obedience certain---by his mildness and moderation he made it easy and voluntary. He saved his country by his management of that most dangerous of instruments---an army in misrule. And for some time swayed with the sceptre of reverence, a rude people uncontrouled by established government or laws. His disinterestedness always made him prefer the advantage of his country to his own glory, and raised him far above the level of that vulgar ambition which seeks nothing but its own aggrandizement. Unwarped by vanity or ostentation, his conduct was regular and uniform. His virtues were great, and they were permanent because produced by still greater principles, while an immutable rectitude attached him indefatigably to his duties, and guided them to their just and natural ends.

It may stand as a test not at all equivocal of the hostile dispositions of France to this country, and of the treachery of its American advocates, that while the sentiments of the American people, properly so called, were such as they have been described, respecting Washington, and such too the merits of that great personage, he was abhorred by the whole of that party of malcontents whom we have all along taken care to brand with the appellation of the French faction, and continually conspired against and assailed by the French appointed agents, and even by the

ministers of the republic. It must, in candour, be owned that considering the insurmountable barrier which his wisdom, penetration and firmness presented to the designs of that restless and murderous republic, its agents may be considered as in some degree excusable for endeavouring to get him out of the way, or at least that it was natural enough for them to wish that object accomplished. No less natural was it in them to endeavour to involve the United States in a war with England, and in an alliance offensive and defensive with the French Republic, since it would not only enable that power to effect with more ease, celerity and certainty, its purposes against the other nations of the earth, but to add America itself to the number of those ill fated countries which lost their independence and sunk under the yoke of France:—but that a large portion of the American people themselves should be desirous to prostrate their country at the bloody feet of a sanguinary conqueror, and for that purpose should have recourse to expedients so base, mean and dishonest, that it would have blackened and rendered infamous even a good end to effect it by such means---and that among those Americans, there should be found men of great repute, influence and property in the States, is a consideration enough to cast any man possessing a good heart, no matter of what country, into sadness and dejection, and shame for the disgrace it reflects upon the nature of man. Afflicting as the task may be to commemorate the degradation of our common kind, in the instances to which allusion is made, it must be performed with scrupulous and rigid fidelity. Nor is

there a single circumstance that tends so much to console and support the author under the execution of it as the hope that there does not exist in any nation under the cope of heaven, so many men capable of such base designs, or of such patricidal purposes. In truth, the French themselves fell short of their American associates in the appetite displayed by both for the ruin of the United States. The former sometimes even seemed tired of executing the projects suggested against American independence and the American government, by the latter. In the intercepted dispatches of M. Fauchet which have already made some part of this history, and which will be found in the appendix, the views and practices of the party are delineated with a bold and masterly outline. The conduct of all the French rulers to the nations whom they have touched, has been so uniform and so clearly demonstrative of one and the same design against the independence of all the world, that even where they have not yet been able to reach their hands, and therefore have given no practical evidence of their intentions, it is impossible for any one to doubt that their determination and ultimate design is fully as hostile to that one, as to those which they have already prostrated with the dust. It is therefore manifest, that all men in all countries, who shew a disposition to favour their intrigues, either have suborned themselves to their views, and are enemies to their country, or are planet-struck with fears, and yield to successful villany, because they have not the courage to resist it, or the common decency to die under the ruins of their country rather

than become the foul and corrupted slaves of the most shameless and wicked despotism that man in his worst state of savage debasement ever submitted to. In the debates of Congress, while the virtuous portion of the representatives of the American people were maintaining the honour and independence of their country against the traitorous advocates of France.—Even at that moment when the most gross injuries and unprovoked insults had been offered to the nation in the most tender point of national honour, the persons of their ambassadors, when the spirit of their surrounding fellow-citizens had been roused to indignation, and the call for vengeance was universal, the creatures of the faction were seen either boldly justifying the conduct of France, and out of compliment to that enemy, condemning their own venerable and virtuous government; or else trembling with fear of uttering a word in vindication of their country's rights. In such a trying emergency they had not the spirit so much as to affect an imitation of their patrons the French, and like them to make a bluster---they were incapable even of a vigorous expression, and while smarting with the lash, dared not so much as even to utter a loud complaint: Even the little harmless gasconade of which upon other occasions they are so fond, and for which they are so celebrated, was rejected by their fears, and they trembled at the consequences of complimenting their own constitutional government. As the address of the representatives in answer to the President's speech, was reported, it contained an assertion that the Americans were the most free and enlightened people

upon earth. An expression of pride, excusable enough, considering all things, and a mere nothing compared to the encomiums which are every day poured forth by the gratuitous orators of the country. But the bare suggestion of it made the hair of some of the faction stand an end. They shrunk from the possibility of offending the virtuous France; and Mr. Parker, a Virginian, felt his patriotic fire so cooled at the bare thoughts of standing unbent in the presence of the wretched proxy of the tyrants of France, that he moved an amendment more palatable and polite, and softened it down to the more modest terms of "*free and independent.*" That nation which, from fear of giving offence to another, shrunk from the former assertion, was not very well entitled even to the latter, lowered as it was, and Mr. Parker in the success of his amendment obtained from the House a melancholy proof of the superior correctness of his estimate.

In this violent and unnatural attachment to the cause of France, originated all the ingratitude and atrocious injustice to Washington—in some, openly avowed, in others, concealed under the most gross hypocrisy. The agents of France who had nothing to gain by preserving the good opinion of America, openly assailed him. Such were Mr. Giles, and his associates—such the editor of the Aurora, and his fellows—such Tom Paine, and the whole body of atheists and jacobins who were so regardless what the estimation was in which they maintained themselves, provided their power to do mischief was

not impaired that they not only unblushingly asserted the most gross falsehoods, but often averred the very reverse of that which they had asserted but the day before, and were even willing to swear to the truth of both. In the course of this history, notice has been already taken of some of the calumnies cast upon the name of Washington: some of them he himself mentioned in a letter to Mr. Jefferson, (in words which it is hoped will never be erased from the memory of the American people,) as being couched "in such exaggerated and indecent "terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, to "a common defaulter, or even to a common pick-"pocket."

None but the foe of America and the hired agent and assassin of jacobinism and France, could be the enemy of Washington. Yet there was hardly a crime of which that infernal paper, "the Aurora," had not from time to time accused him. It indefatigably followed him up on the hot scent, and wherever it could make a spring, fastened upon him with the most diabolical ferocity. Nobody of common sense will believe that any wretch was ever gratuitously so wicked as to take the trouble and undergo the public odium of such villany, merely for the purpose of doing evil. The workings of hatred and the effusions of malignity are never without some external motive, some shadow of a cause, and seldom operate upon the heart with the unremitted effect of a positive obligation. Self-love will induce the very vilest assassin of character, sometimes to give his heart, his tongue and his pen a holiday, and prompt him to inquire into the

utility of his malice, and to put the question to himself which lawyers are in the habit of using in argument when they desire a reason to be given in order to refute an unfounded charge—*Cui bono?* To what end this effort? But not one of those worthies who impeached the character of Washington were men of such pure moral character---such exquisite sensibility to wrong---so feelingly alive to the interests of virtue and morality, as to turn out like Quixottes the profitless champions of an injured world against the wicked. Where indeed are there such men? On the contrary it is observable that the most virtuous are the most lenient, the wisest, and the most tolerant. If private vice or public malversation were to be detected and frowned down only by virtuous zeal or honest enthusiasm, it is not in the persons of the enemies of Washington or of Washington's principles the public were to look for the guardians of their moral or political system; for it is a truth as capable of demonstration as any moral proposition can be, that his enemies were, almost to a man, of the vilest of the human race:—men as ignominious in private life as mischievous in public exertion---French and other foreign renegadoes---gamblers---jacobins---builders and owners of privateers---Cape François contractors---French agents---French solicitors---French spies---French stipendaries, and expectants of French favour---Deists, Atheists, and the whole host of vagabonds who had escaped, by sudden flight, from the gibbet in Europe---and who could not escape it in America, if the laws were faithfully executed. But however malicious

and base, or erroneously patriotic, the miserable representative of a Virginian township, or the mean editor of a jacobin print may be, he cannot be imagined to act with such persevering, indefatigable and laborious rancour, without some more powerful stimulus than the suggestions of his own humour. The editor of the Aurora or his successors, however indifferent to their country's welfare, could not have felt that active, energetic zeal in the cause of France against their own country and government, merely for the love they bore Robespierre, Barras and Bonaparte, or for their cause, congenial as it might be to their hearts, if they had not some more irresistible impulse. After having exhausted the whole catalogue of crimes in charges against him, the Aurora at length accused Washington of murder. On the 11th March, 1797, the following letter appeared in the Aurora:

"Mr. Bache,

"I saw in your last number a letter signed George "Washington, solemnly denying the authenticity of "certain private letters dated in 1776, and ascribed "to him. For the honour of this country I sincerely "rejoice that those letters were not genuine; but I "must say that I think Mr. Washington blameable "for not having earlier noticed the forgery. I own, "for one, that his long silence produced in my mind "disagreeable doubts---others have felt them, and I "cannot but think that, as a servant of the public, it "was his duty immediately to have removed such "doubts, since it was in his power to do it so rea-"dily. His personal pride should have been over-

" come for the sake of his public duty. The neces-
" sity of public confidence being attached to officers
" in important stations, especially in a government
" like ours, should have pointed out early to him the
" necessity, however disagreeable the task to his
" personal feelings, of stepping forward with a pub-
" lic denial of the unworthy sentiments attributed to
" him in those spurious letters.

" Since he prevailed upon himself to break the
" ice, there is another subject on which the public
" mind, I think, should receive some light. I have
" not known it lately to be a matter of public dis-
" cussion, but it has been frequently brought forward
" in private conversations, and I never could find any
" one capable of giving a satisfactory explanation,
" and probably from the old date of this transaction
" (1754) Mr. Washington may be the only person
" capable of giving an eclaircissement.

" The accusation in question is no less than
" having, while commanding a party of American
" troops, fired on a flag of truce; killed the officer
" in the act of reading a summons under the sanc-
" tion of such a flag: of having attempted to vin-
" dicate the act, and yet of having signed a capi-
" tulation, in which the killing of that officer and
" his men was acknowledged as an act of assassi-
" nation.

" The charge is of too serious a nature: firing on a
" flag of truce is so unprecedented an act, even in sa-
" vage warfare; and signing an acknowledgment of
" having been guilty of assassination so degrading
" to a man, and especially to a military man, that I

"feel confident there must have been some egre-
"gious misstatement in the account given of the
"business. I have imagined this also must be
"some forgery, or that Major George Washington
"who was taken at Fort Necessity in 1754, could
"not be the same person as George Washington,
"late President of the United States.

"The transaction alluded to is recorded in a
"pamphlet published here in the year 1757, purport-
"ing to be the translation of a memorial containing
"a summary view of facts, with their authorities,
"in answer to the observations sent by the English
"ministry to the courts of Europe.

"Mr. Washington can settle every doubt upon
"this subject, by declaring whether this memorial
"was a forgery: whether the journal it contains,
"purporting to be his journal, and especially the
"capitulation, acknowledging the killing of Mr.
"Jumonville and his men, to have been an act
"of assassination, were papers forged to answer the
"purposes of the French court; or whether he is
"the Major Washington there alluded to.

"T. T. L."

It was an expedient worthy of such beings as the creatures of the Aurora, and of such alone, and of their insatiable malice, to hunt back through the lumber of between forty and fifty years to find a charge of murder and assassination against the person whom the people considered the saviour of their country. Since, if the charge were well founded he could not have so long escaped the

vengeance of the ever-waking inexorable criminal laws of England which then prevailed here, and since the character of that great man which every day from his birth lay unfolded to the public eye, was ever held spotless, the story must at once have appeared, without any appeal to evidence, to be a most foul and abominable cut-throat calumny, invented to satiate the thirst for vengeance, with which the conduct of Washington in saving his country from the fraudulent and ruinous views of France, had inflamed every jacobin and democratic agent in America. Fortunately, however, the lapse of time, and the staleness of the date did not, as the Aurora expected, destroy the evidences, and the whole was proved to be a villanous accusation solely calculated to embitter the little residue of the General's declining years.

The following extract from the journal of General, then Major Washington, placed the thing at once in its true light. It seems that previous to the year 1754, there were continual disputes between England and France about the boundaries of their possessions lying in what is now called the western countries of the United States. They produced a war in America, in which the English were generally unsuccessful till they attacked the French by sea; for doing which, the French endeavoured to criminate them, and demanded their vessels which had been taken, as there had been no declaration of war. England refused, and appealed to the courts of Europe in her own justification. The French answered this in a memo-

rial, and out of this memorial the charge of Mr. Bache was taken against Washington, who had commanded a party of the British army, and had already given his official account of the transaction alluded to in the following manner.

"About eight at night, I received an express "from the Half King, which informed me that as "he was coming to join us, he had seen along "the road the tracks of two men, which he had "followed till he was brought thereby to a low "obscure place; that he was of opinion the whole "party of the French was hidden there. That "very moment I sent out forty men, and ordered "my ammunition to be put in a place of safety, "under a strong guard to defend it, fearing it to be "a stratagem of the French to attack our camp; "and with the rest of my men set out in a heavy "rain, and in a night as dark as pitch, along a "path scarce broad enough for one man. We "were sometimes fifteen or twenty minutes out of "the path before we could come to it again, and "so dark that we would often strike one against "another. All night long we continued our route, "and the 28th, about sunrise, we arrived at the "Indian camp, where, after having held a council "with the Half King it was concluded we should "fall on them together; so we sent out two men "to discover where they were, as also their posture, "and what sort of ground was thereabout; after "which we formed ourselves for an engagement, "marching one after the other in the Indian man-"ner: we were advanced pretty near to them as

" we thought when they discovered us, whereupon I " ordered my company to fire; mine was supported " by that of Mr. Wager's, and my company and " his received the whole fire of the French during " the greatest part of the action, which only lasted " a quarter of an hour, before the enemy was " routed.

" We killed M. de Jurnonville, the commander " of the party, and also nine others. We wounded " one, and made twenty-one prisoners, amongst " whom were M. Le Force, M. Drouellon, and " two cadets. After this I marched on with the " prisoners: they informed me that they had been " sent with a summons to order me to depart. A " plausible pretence to discover our camp, and to " obtain the knowledge of our forces and our si- " tuation. It was so clear that they were come to " reconnoitre what we were, that I admired at " their assurance, when they told me they were " come as an embassy; for their instructions men- " tioned that they should get what knowledge they " could of the roads, rivers, and all the country as " far as the Potomac, and instead of coming as " ambassadors publicly and in an open manner, they " came secretly and sought after the most hidden " retreats, more like deserters than ambassadors. " In such retreats they encamped, and remained " hid for whole days together, and that no more " than five miles from us. From thence they sent " spies to reconnoitre our camp: after this was " done they went back two miles from whence they

" sent the two messengers spoken of in the instruc-
" tions to acquaint M. De Conticœur of the place
" we were at, and of our disposition, that he might
" send his detachments to enforce the summons as
" soon as it should be given.

" Besides, an ambassador has princely attendants,
" whereas, this was only a simple French officer. An
" ambassador has no spies, his character being al-
" ways sacred: and seeing their intention was so
" good, why did they tarry two days at five miles
" distance from us, without acquainting me with
" the summons, or at least with something that re-
" lated to the embassy? That alone would be suf-
" ficient to raise the greatest suspicions, and we
" ought to do them the justice to say that as they
" wanted to hide themselves they could not pick
" out a better place than they did.

" The summons was so insolent, and savoured
" of the gasconade so much, that if it had been
" brought openly by two men it would have been
" an immediate indulgence to have suffered them to
" return.

" It was the opinion of the Half King in this
" place that their intentions were evil, and that it
" was a pure pretence; that they never intended
" to come to us but as enemies, and if we had been
" such fools as to let them go, they would never
" help us any more to take other Frenchmen.

" They say they called to us as soon as they dis-
" covered us, which is an absolute falsehood, for I
" was then marching at the head of the company,
" going towards them, and can positively affirm that

" when they first saw us, they ran to their arms with-
" out calling; as I must have heard them had they
" so done."

What punishment would be sufficient for such a villanous design against the fame and tranquillity of that admirable man! Yet that paper still continues to pour forth torrents of invective equally villanous and equally false against the memory of Washington, and against the characters of all his faithful friends and adherents—execrable, pernicious wretches! blind, infatuated, unjust, credulous and ungrateful people, to read such a filthy vehicle of slander and wickedness!

The notorious Thomas Paine who had shifted his allegiance from America to France, as he had before from England to America, and who presided as a Judge, along with the other monsters and murderers of Louis the Sixteenth, was laid in prison by Robespierre, and every honest man looked forward with something like pleasing emotions to his undergoing, along with his less wicked associates, who perished by the guillotine, the punishment justly due to a life of crime not so much as checkered by a single virtue---by one good quality, or by one worthy action. Finding his life in jeopardy as a citizen of the French republic, he cast his eyes back with a cowardly sigh to those better days, when under the tyrannies of Great Britain and America, he could walk at large, and wished that under the name of the subject of one or the citizen of the other he could escape, from the freedom of a French republican dungeon, and from the blade of that liberty-machine, the guillotine.

Aware that the gibbet awaited him in England, he assumed to be an American citizen, and called upon President Washington to demand his enlargement. But he found that he had lost his claim to that assistance by the article which deprives of citizenship all those who shall accept of any title or office under any foreign King, Prince, or STATE.---To get rid of this, he resorted to a quibble, and though he himself had a seat in the Convention which established a republic in France, and legislated, and which impeached and tried by virtue of their sovereign authority, and by that authority executed their king, he insisted that France was neither a kingdom, a principality or a state, but a people in a state of revolution---and that being a member of their Legislature was no office, though that Convention usurped to themselves every office, legislative, executive, diplomatic, judicial, military and ecclesiastic.---In a word, Paine, who had braved the gallows of Great Britain, and after having insulted and defied his native monarch, George the third, escaped in that land of laws, now trembled in an agony of fear, at Robespierre and the French guillotine. While Bache and Freneau, and Giles, and the democratic faction were pouring into the ears of the deceived Americans, the warmest panegyrics upon Robespierre and his associates---while Edmund Randolph, and Dallas, and Madison, and Mifflin, and Jefferson, were leaguing and seducing the American people into a league with those monsters for the overthrow of England and the world, and were defending the encroachments of their ambassador, and justifying his insults to the American

government, and even his attempts to raise an army in the United States, was Paine, their great apostle of atheism and of the rights of man, immured in a dungeon, the filthiest of jail-birds, by that very Robespierre who was dispensing with a liberal hand, the benefits of his virtuous administration in a manner that afterwards exacted the following precious acknowledgment from Paine.

"To such a pitch of rage and suspicion was "Robespierre and his committee arrived, that it "seemed as if they feared to leave a man alive. No "man could count upon his life for twenty hours. "One hundred and sixty-nine prisoners were taken "out of the Luxemburgh in one night, and one hun-"dred and sixty of them guillotined. In the next "list I have good reason to believe I was included, "myself."

The democratic faction surely could not deny the evidence of their virtuous Tom Paine on the subject of French liberty---yet this was the very time when they were in every meeting, in every mob, in every jacobin print that belonged to them, and even within the doors of Congress, some say in the very cabinet too, clamouring against the Executive for not making common cause with France, and calling upon their government and the people to draw more tight the bands of amity with their faithful friend and beloved sister republic.

Paine, too, had before this, with all his might, and as sincerely as any American democrat ever did any thing, sung "*Te deum laudamus*" to Robespierre, while Robespierre was living. But as soon as the

monster was dead, turned upon his carcase with all the good will of a hyæna or a jackall, and rent the air with his howling about "the tyrant Robespierre—the ty- "ranny of Robespierre---the orders of Robespierre--- "the cruelty of Robespierre," so much in the same style in which he had before abused his own sovereign, that Robespierre might have passed with those who knew Paine, for a very honest man, if the recency of his atrocities had not forbid it. But as it was necessary for him to cringe to the surviving friends of Robespierre, he cunningly separated them in his public abuse---and when he came to justify the seizure of the the vessels of his quondam fellow-citizens of America, by the piratical cruisers of his new adopted fellow-citizens of France, he employed his pen (well filled for such things) in defending the measures of Carnot, who was then one of that body of five cut-throats called the Directory, though he knew him to have been the right hand man of Robespierre and his purveyor for carcases for the guillotine. Thus, as it ever has been and at this day is with the friends of France in America, so it was and ever will be with Mr. Paine. Till he goes to the grand gallic recipient, he will be the cringing slave and flatterer of the living tyrant, and reserve all his malice for him till after he is dead.

To ingratiate himself with the council of five, or Directory, Paine strained his ingenuity and wrote the most base and criminal libels on the federal Constitution of America, and on that ornament and glory of his country, Washington. To Paine, who felt neither compunction nor shame, who feared not God, because

he believed not in him, nor was ashamed of man, because all the distinctions between vice and virtue had long been obliterated from his heart and understanding, it signified nothing that he had before eulogized the federal Constitution, and applauded Washington as a man far above the level even of those justly denominated great. As a proof of the utter want of truth and integrity, or even of common decency in this man, some small extracts are made from his works.

In the second part of his Rights of Man he speaks of the federal Constitution in the following terms.

"The whole expense of the federal government "of America, founded, as I have already said, on "the system of representation, and extending over "a country nearly ten times as large as England, is "but six hundred thousand dollars, or one hundred "and thirty-five thousand pounds sterling."

"The government of America which is wholly "on the system of representation, is the only real "republic in character, and in practice, that now "exists. Its government has no other object than "the public business of the nation, and therefore it "is properly a republic."

"It is on this system that the American govern-"ment is founded. It is a representation ingrafted "upon democracy. It has fixed the form by a "scale parallel in all cases to the extent of the prin-"ciple. What Athens was in miniature America "will be in magnitude. The one was the wonder "of the ancient world, the other is becoming the "admiration and the model of the present."

In his infamous letter to General Washington, he speaks of the very same Constitution in the following manner.

"I declare myself opposed to several matters in "the Constitution, particularly to the manner in "which what is called the Executive, is formed, and "to the long duration of the Senate. And if I live "to return to America I will use all my endeavours "to have them altered.

"It was only to the absolute necessity of establish- "ing some federal authority, extending equally over "all the States, that an *instrument so inconsistent* as "the present federal Constitution is, obtained a suf- "frage."

"As the federal Constitution is a copy, *not quite* "*so base* as the original, of the form of *the British go-* "*vernment*, an imitation of its vices *was naturally to* "*be expected.*"

And now for his contrasted eulogy and abuse of General Washington.

"Voltaire has remarked that King William never "appeared to full advantage but in difficulties and in "action; the same remark may be made on General "Washington, for the character fits him. There is "a natural firmness in some minds which cannot be "unlocked by trifles, but which, when unlocked, "discovers a cabinet of fortitude; and *I reckon it* "*among those kind of public blessings* which we do "not immediately see, that God hath blessed *him*

" *with uninterrupted health and given him a mind that* " *can even flourish upon care.*"

Paine's Common Sense.

" I presume that no man in his sober senses will " compare the character of any of the Kings of Eu- " rope with that of Washington.

" As soon as nine States had concurred (and the " rest followed in the order that their Conventions " were elected) the old fabric of the federal govern- " ment was taken down, and the new one erected, of " which GENERAL WASHINGTON is President. In " this place I cannot help remarking that *the charac-* " *ter and services of this gentleman are sufficient to* " *put all those men called Kings to shame.* While " they are receiving from the sweat and labours of " mankind a prodigality of pay, to which neither " their abilities nor their services can entitle them, " *he is rendering every service in his power, and refu-* " *sing every pecuniary reward.*—He accepted no pay " as Commander in Chief—he accepted none as Pre- " sident of the United States."

Part 2d Rights of Man.

He dedicated his 1st part of the Rights of Man to General Washington, and in that dedication addresses him as follows.

" Sir,

" I present you a small treatise in defence of *those* " *principles* of freedom which *your exemplary virtue* " *has so eminently contributed to establish.* That the

" rights of man may become *as universal as your* " *benevolence can wish*, and that you may enjoy the " happiness of seeing the new world regenerate the " *old* is the prayer of *your most obliged*, &c.

" T. PAINE."

Nor was this all; in his letter to the Abbe Raynal, he enlarged upon the greatness, the wisdom and the superiority of Washington as a General, and to establish his positions he entered into a detailed account of some of his masterly actions, and more particularly that at Trenton.

Now let us see the other picture, which, for the gratification of his own revenge, and the smiles of Carnot and Barras, he wrote in France, and then let the two pictures be compared.

" When we speak of military character, something " more is understood than constancy; and some- " thing more ought to be understood than the Fa- " bian system of *doing nothing*. The *nothing past*, " can be done by any body. Old Mrs. Thompson, " the house-keeper of head-quarters, (who threatened " to make the sun and the wind shine through Riv- " ington, of New-York,) could have done it as well " as Mr. Washington. Deborah would have been " as good as Barak—the successful skirmishes at the " close of one campaign, matters that would scarcely " be noticed in a better state of things, make the " brilliant exploits of General Washington's seven " campaigns—*no wonder we see so much pusillanimity*

" *in the President, when we see so little enterprise in* " *the General.*"

Paine's Letter to General Washington.

" Elevated to the chair of the presidency you as- " sumed the merit of every thing to yourself, and the " *natural ingratitude* of your constitution began to " appear. You commenced your presidential career " by encouraging and swallowing the grossest adula- " tion, and you travelled America from one end to " the other, to put yourself in the way of receiving it. " You have as many addresses in your chest as " James the IId. Monopolies of every kind marked " *your administration, almost in the moment of its com-* " *mencement.* The lands obtained in the revolution " were lavished upon partisans: the interest of the " disbanded soldier was sold to the speculator: *in-* " *justice was acted under the pretence of faith; and* " THE CHIEF OF THE ARMY *became* THE PATRON " OF THE FRAUD."

Ibidem.

" And as to you Sir, treacherous in private friend- " ship, and a hypocrite in public life, the world will " be puzzled to decide whether you are an apostate " or an impostor; whether you have abandoned good " principles, or whether you ever had any."

Ibidem.

It was not by such clumsy villany as this that the character of Washington could be affected in the character of the American people. The most stupid

among them saw to the bottom of the business, and the most profligate were ashamed of it; not for its villany but, for the degradation it brought upon their idol Paine, and their friends the French. Even Bache thought his employers had gone too far, and was silent. It vexed the faction because it was an index of their whole contents, and because it revealed enough of the plans of France to betray the general concatenation of their system. Every man viewed it in its true light.—The Directory was at that very time employed in issuing orders to violate their treaty with America, and notwithstanding their confidence in the support of their faction here, were yet apprehensive that the people would resent so unprovoked an outrage if some motive could not be assigned for it arising from the American government. That atrocious band gave Paine credit for an influence which he did not possess, and imagined that he could persuade the people of the United States that their hostility was occasioned by the partial mal-administration of their own government, and by that means prevent them from concurring with it in resenting the injury. To gratify them Paine prostituted his pen to their service. But they were completely deceived---his letter to Washington produced an effect contrary to that which they intended, for the attempt heightened the respect and affection with which Washington was regarded, and inflamed but the more the public indignation against France.

But what were all these attempts upon Washington compared with the occult machinations of men whose characters stood so high that suspicion never

rested on them. Paine, and Bache, and Frenau, and the long list of jacobin assassins who wielded the pen, and if necessary were ready to wield the dagger for France, were already so notoriously infamous that their enmity could no more excite apprehension than their villany could astonishment.---Their attacks, therefore, were as nothing when put in comparison with the perfidy of certain persons, who, lurking in the bosom of the President, privately directed the poniard to his fame, and sharing in his confidence and his counsels, abused the one and betrayed the other.

The earnest efforts and persuasions of Mr. Jefferson, to induce Washington to accept the chief magistracy for a second term have already been adverted to, and his motives for employing them have been examined and exposed. Few men professed a more ardent personal affection---none a more exalted opinion of the talents, integrity, and magnanimity of Washington than he did. And in some of the most critical public contests with France, Mr. Jefferson distinguished himself for apparent zeal in the cause of government, and for the force and ability with which he stood forth the champion of executive conduct, against the arguments and sinister attacks of the French minister. Mortifying, however, as it must be to an American historian to set down, or for an American citizen to read, truth demands it to be related that Mr. Jefferson was the whole time the private friend and counsellor of the French minister, and as Secretary of State, exerted his talents to controvert the opinions of his private closet, and contend against the

proceedings of that minister which in private he connived at, if he did not sanction by his approbation and advice. The hope which had for so many years been kept alive in the bosom of the cabinet of Paris, of effecting a schism between the people and the government of America, was by no man more assiduously supplied with nourishment than by Mr. Jefferson, who evidently appears to have been, all along, among the most strenuous, though occult advocates and friends of France. If Washington understood the character of his Secretary, it must have been a heavy tax upon his magnanimity to preserve the appearance of confidence necessary to the proceedings of the cabinet, and to retain the services of the Secretary when he could not but discover, through the veil of hypocrisy that was thrown over it, the real character and designs of the man. Possessing such means of information as his station afforded him, the President could not but have known that Frenau, the conductor of a print in which his friends were calumniated and his measures were traduced, was maintained in office by Mr. Jefferson. Neither was the undue partiality of Mr. Jefferson to France, and to that faction who supported her, entirely unknown to the President. From the arrival of M. Genet as minister of France, Mr. Jefferson was well known to have maintained an intercourse of more than ordinary friendship and cordiality with him, though his conduct was of so very offensive and dangerous a nature that one of the most strenuous advocates of the French faction has since declared that M. Genet *came like a firebrand, and that he made hardy attempts to commit the peace of the*

*United States.**—As the organ of administration, that is to say, as Secretary of State, Mr. Jefferson was obliged to write what the cabinet dictated: His was in this respect a mere mechanical office---he was the amanuensis of government, and in the far greater part of that duty was nothing more. The plan of policy and the principle of conduct was first settled by the President and General Hamilton, and indeed the mind and style of the latter are visible throughout. Mr. Jefferson only put the whole together, while he was decidedly hostile to it---and however contradictory it might be, and certainly often was to his sentiments, he was of course obliged either to sign his name to the correspondence, or to abandon his place. But while he thus put his official signature to the condemnation of Genet's conduct, he gave him his support in the columns of his political print. And in the very teeth of the judgment passed upon him by the cabinet, was that French firebrand justified by Mr. Frenau, the *protegé* and private clerk and translator of Mr. Jefferson. Nor were the exertions of that treacherous print confined to a mere justification of Genet---no---they were indefatigably and uniformly employed to excite and encourage that audacious Frenchman, and criminal impostor, to persist in his conduct---and to assure him that the people differed in sentiment from the government, and would support France against the measures of administration---

* See the National Intelligencer of the 10th and 11th October, 1808.

nay, General Washington and the whole cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Randolph, were, in that very paper, which in every essential but mere pecuniary emolument, was the print of Mr. Jefferson, made the constant subjects of censure---the butts of unlimited calumny---and their conduct to France and Genet continually animadverted upon, for the purpose of rendering them suspected, hated, and disrespected by the public. This, if there had been nothing more of the kind against Mr. Jefferson, might have been enough to convince the world of his duplicity; but Genet himself publicly charged him with hypocrisy, and complained that the treacherous Secretary had become the instrument of his recall, after having persuaded him that he was his sincere friend, and after having let him into the *precious* secrets of the cabinet, and initiated him into all the arcana of the government. "*If*," said the exasperated Frenchman, "*I have shewn my firmness in* "*opposing the President, it is because it is not in my* "*character* TO SPEAK, AS MANY PEOPLE DO, IN "ONE WAY, AND ACT IN ANOTHER---TO HAVE AN "OFFICIAL LANGUAGE AND A LANGUAGE CONFI-"DENTIAL.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

APPENDIX.

TRANSLATION

OF

MR. FAUCHET'S POLITICAL DISPATCH,

INTERCEPTED IN ITS WAY TO FRANCE.

LEGATION OF PHILADELPHIA. FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Private Correspondence of the Minister on Politics.

PHILADELPHIA, the 10th Brumaire, 3d year of the French Republic, one and indivisible. (October 31st, 1794.)

Joseph Fauchet, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic near the United States, to the Commissioner of Foreign Relations.

"CITIZEN,

"1. The measures which prudence prescribes to me to take with respect to my colleagues, have still presided in the digesting of the dispatches signed by them, which treat of the insurrection of the western countries, and of the repressive means adopted by the government. I have allowed them to be confined to the giving of a faithful, but naked recital of events. The reflections therein contained scarcely exceed the conclusions easily deducible from the character assumed by the public prints. I have reserved myself to give you, as far as I am able, a key to the facts detailed in our reports. When it comes in question to explain, either by conjectures or by certain data, the secret views of a foreign government, it would be imprudent to run the risk of indiscretions, and to give one's self up to men, whose known partiality for that government, and similitude of passions and interests with its chiefs, might lead to confidences, the issue of which is incalculable. Besides, the *precious*

confessions of Mr. Randolph alone throw a satisfactory light upon every thing that comes to pass. These I have not yet communicated to my colleagues. The motives already mentioned lead to this reserve, and still less permit me to open myself to them at the present moment. I shall then endeavour, Citizen, to give you a clew to all the measures, of which the common dispatches give you an account, and to discover the true causes of the explosion, which it is obstinately resolved to repress with great means, although the state of things has no longer any thing alarming.

"2. To confine the present crisis to the simple question of the excise, is to reduce it far below its true scale; it is indubitably connected with a general explosion for some time prepared in the public mind, but which this local and precipitate eruption will cause to miscarry, or at least check for a long time. In order to see the real cause, in order to calculate the effect and the consequences, we must ascend to the origin of the parties existing in the State, and retrace their progress.

"3. The present system of government has created malcontents. This is the lot of all new things. My predecessors have given information in detail upon the parts of the system which have particularly awakened clamours, and produced enemies to the whole of it. The primitive divisions of opinion as to the political form of the State, and the limits of the sovereignty of the whole over each State individually sovereign, had created the federalists and the anti-federalists. From a whimsical contrast between the name and the real opinion of the parties, a contrast hitherto little understood in Europe, the former aimed, *and still aim with all their power, to annihilate federalism, whilst the latter have always wished to preserve it.* This contrast was created by the consolidators or the constitutionalists, who, being first in giving the denominations, (a matter so important in a revolution,) took for themselves that which was the most popular, although in reality it contradicted their ideas, and gave to their rivals one which would draw on them the attention of the people, notwithstanding they really wished to preserve a system whose prejudices should cherish at least the memory and the name.

"4. Moreover, these first divisions, of the nature of those to be destroyed by time, in proportion as the nation should have advanced in the experiment of a form of government which rendered it flourishing, might now have completely disappeared, if the system of finances, which had its birth in the cradle of the Constitution, had not renewed their vigour under various forms. The mode of organizing the national credit, the consolidating and funding of the public debt, the introduction in the political economy of the usage of States which prolong their existence, or ward off their fall only by expedients, imperceptibly created a financiering class, who threaten to become the aristocratical order of the State. Several citizens, and among others those who have aided in establishing independence with their purses or their arms, conceived themselves aggrieved by those fiscal engagements. Hence an opposition which declares itself between the farming or agricultural interest, and that of the fiscal; federalism and anti-federalism, which are founded on those new denominations, in proportion as the Treasury usurps a preponderance in the government and legislation; hence, in fine, the state divided into partisans

and enemies of the Treasurer and of his theories. In this new classification of parties, the nature of things gave popularity to the latter; an innate instinct, if I may use the expression, caused the ears of the people to revolt at the names alone of *Treasurer and stockjobber;* but the opposite party, in consequence of its ability, obstinately persisted in leaving to its adversaries the suspicious name of *anti-federalist*, whilst, in reality, they were friends of the Constitution, and enemies only of the excrescences which financiering theories threatened to attach to it.

"5. It is useless to stop longer to prove that the monarchical system was interwoven with those novelties of finances, and that the friends of the latter favoured the attempts which were made in order to bring the Constitution to the former by insensible gradations. The writings of influential men of this party prove it; their real opinions too avow it; and the journals of the Senate are the depository of the first attempts.

"6. Let us, therefore, free ourselves from the intermediate spaces in which the progress of the system is marked, since they can add nothing to the proof of its existence; let us, by its sympathy with our regenerating movements, while running in monarchical paths; let us arrive at the situation in which our republican revolution has placed things and parties.

"7. The anti-federalists disembarrass themselves of an insignificant denomination, and take that of patriots and of republicans: Their adversaries become *aristocrats*, notwithstanding their efforts to preserve the advantageous illusion of ancient names; opinions clash and press each other; the aristocratic attempts, which formerly had appeared so insignificant, are recollected; the Treasurer, who is looked upon as their first source, is attacked; his operations and plans are denounced to the public opinion; nay, in the sessions of 1792 and 1793, a solemn inquiry into his administration was obtained. This first victory was to produce another; and it was hoped, that faulty or innocent, the Treasurer would retire, no less by necessity in the one case, than from self-love in the other. He, emboldened by the triumph which he obtained in the useless inquiry of his enemies, of which both objects proved equally abortive, seduced by the momentary reverse of republicanism in Europe, removes the mask, and announces the approaching triumph of his principles.

"8. In the mean time, *the popular societies are formed;** political ideas concentre themselves; the patriotic party unite, and more closely connect themselves; they gain a formidable majority in the Legislature; the abasement of commerce, the slavery of navigation, and the audacity of England, strengthen it; a concert of declarations and censures against the government arises, at which the latter is even itself astonished.

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* *They were formed by Genet, the predecessor of Fauchet; and Dallas, Secretary of the State of Pennsylvania, was at the head of them, and was the principal agent in their formation.*

"9. Such was the situation of things towards the close of the last, and at the beginning of the present year. Let us pass over the discontents which were most generally expressed in these critical moments: They have been sent to you at different periods, and in detail. In every quarter are arraigned *the imbecility of the government toward Great Britain*;* the defenceless state of the country against possible invasions; *the coldness towards the French Republic*;† the system of finance is attacked, which threatens eternising the debt under pretext of making it the guarantee of public happiness; the complication of that system which withholds from general inspection all its operations; the alarming power of the influence it procures to a man whose principles are regarded as dangerous; the preponderance which that man acquires from day to day in public measures; and, in a word, the immoral and impolitic modes of taxation, which he at first presents as expedients, and afterwards raises to permanency.

"10. In touching this last point we attain the principal complaint of the western people,‡ and the ostensible motive of their movements. Republicans by principle, independent by character and situation, they could not but accede with enthusiasm to the criminations which we have sketched. But the *excise* above all affects them. Their lands are fertile, watered with the finest rivers in the world; but the abundant fruits of their labour run the risk of perishing for the want of means of exchanging them, as those more happy cultivators do for objects which desire indicates to all men who have known only the enjoyment which Europe procures them; they therefore convert the excess of their produce into liquors imperfectly fabricated, which badly supply the place of those they might procure by exchange. The *excise* is created, and strikes at this consoling transformation; their complaints are answered by the only pretext, that they are otherwise inaccessible to every species of impost. But why, in contempt of treaties, are they left to bear the yoke of the feeble Spaniard, as to the Mississippi, for upwards of twelve years? Since when has an agricultural people submitted to the unjust capricious law of a people explorers of the precious metals? Might we not suppose that Madrid and Philadelphia mutually assisted in prolonging the slavery of the river; that the proprietors of a barren coast are afraid lest the Mississippi, once opened, and its numerous branches brought into activity, their fields might become deserts;

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* *Thus we see the* hostility *to the federal government arose partly from that government's not resenting the conduct of Great Britain.*

† *And from the* coldness *of the federal government towards the Republic of France.*

‡ *This was the* principal *complaint; but the Frenchman conceived that a* want of resentment *towards Great Britain, and a* want of friendship *for France, were amongst the complaints of the western people. How, then, could the western insurrection, as it is insinuated by the new Annual Register, be* fomented by the agents of Great Britain?

and, in a word, that commerce dreads having rivals in those interior parts as soon as their inhabitants shall cease to be subjects? This last supposition is but too well founded; an influential member of the Senate, Mr. Izard, one day in conversation undisguisedly announced it to me.

"11. I shall be more brief in my observations on the murmurs excited by the system for the sale of lands. It is conceived to be unjust that these vast and fertile regions should be sold by provinces to capitalists, who thus enrich themselves, and retail, with immense profits to the husbandman, possessions which they have never seen. If there were not a latent design to arrest the rapid settlement of those lands and to prolong their infant state, why not open in the west land-offices, where every body, without distinction, should be admitted to purchase by a small or large quantity? Why reserve to sell or distribute to favourites, to a clan of flatterers, of courtiers, that which belongs to the state, and which should be sold to the greatest possible profit of all its members?.

"12. Such therefore were the parts of the public grievance, upon which the western people most insisted. Now, as the common dispatches inform you, *these complaints were systemizing by the conversations of influential men who retired into those wild countries, and who, from principle, or by a series of particular heart-burnings, animated discontents already too near to effervescence.* At last the local explosion is effected. The western people calculated on being supported by some distinguished characters in the east, and even imagined they had in *the bosom of the government* some abettors who might share in their grievances or their principles.

"13. From what I have detailed above, those men might indeed be supposed numerous. The sessions of 1793 and 1794, had given importance to the republican party and solidity to its accusations. The propositions of Mr. Madison, or his project of a navigation act, of which Mr. Jefferson was originally the author, sapped the British interest, now an integral part of the financiering system. Mr. Taylor, a republican member of the Senate, published, towards the end of the session, three pamphlets, in which this last is explored to its origin, and developed in its progress and consequences with force and method. In the last he asserts that the decrepid state of affairs resulting from that system could not but presage, under a rising government, either a revolution or a civil war.

"14. The first was preparing: the government, which had foreseen it, reproduced, under various forms, the demand of a disposable force which might be put in a respectable state of defence. Defeated in this measure, who can aver that it may not have hastened the local eruption, in order to make an advantageous diversion, and to lay the more general storm which it saw gathering? Am I not authorised in forming this conjecture from the conversation which the Secretary of State had with me and Le Blanc alone, an account of which you have in my dispatch, No. 3? But how may we expect that this new plan will be executed? By exasperating and severe measures, authorised by a law which was not solicited till the close of the session. This law gave to the one already existing for collecting the *excise*, a coercive force which hitherto it had not possessed, and a demand of which was not before

ventured to be made. By means of this new law, all the refractory citizens to the old one were caused to be pursued with a sudden rigour; a great number of writs were issued. Doubtless the natural consequences, from a conduct so decisive and so harsh, were expected; and before these were manifested, the means of repression had been prepared; this was undoubtedly what Mr. Randolph meant in telling me, *that under pretext of giving energy to the government, it was intended to introduce absolute power, and to mislead the President in paths which would conduct him to unpopularity.*

"15. Whether the explosion has been provoked by the government, or owes its birth to accident, it is certain that a commotion of some hundreds of men, who have not since been found in arms, and the very pacific union of the counties in Braddock's field, a union which has not been revived, were not symptoms which could justify the raising so great a force as 15,000 men. Besides, the principles, uttered in the declarations hitherto made public, rather announced ardent minds to be calmed, than anarchists to be subdued. But in order to obtain something on the public opinion, prepossessed against the demands contemplated to be made, it was necessary to magnify the danger, to *disfigure the views of those people, to attribute to them the design of uniting themselves with England*, to alarm the citizens for the fate of the Constitution, whilst in reality the revolution threatened only the ministers. This step succeeded; an army is raised: this military part of the suppression is doubtless Mr. Hamilton's; the pacific part, and the sending of commissioners, are due to the influence of Mr. Randolph over the mind of the President, whom I delight always to believe, and whom I do believe, truly virtuous and the friend of his fellow-citizens and principles.

"16. In the mean time, although there was a certainty of having an army, yet it was necessary to assure themselves of co-operators among the men whose patriotic reputation might influence their party, and whose lukewarmness, or want of energy in the existing conjunctures, might compromit the success of the plans. Of all the governors whose duty it was to appear at the head of the requisitions, *the Governor of Pennsylvania alone, enjoyed the name of republican*: his opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury and of his systems was known to be unfavourable. *The Secretary of this State possessed great influence in the popular society of Philadelphia, which in its turn influenced those of other States; of course he merited attention.* It appears, therefore, that *these men*, with others unknown to me, all having without doubt *Randolph at their head, were balancing to decide on their party.* Two or three days before the proclamation was published, and of course before the Cabinet had resolved on its measures, *Mr. Randolph came to see me with an air of great eagerness, and made to me the overtures, of which I have given you an account in my No. 6.** *Thus, with some thousands of dollars, the republic could*

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* *For the purport of this dispatch, No. 6. see the* analysis of Randolph's vindication, *vol. 2. p. 371. from which it will appear that Randolph asked the French Ambassador for* money.

have decided on civil war or on peace ! Thus the *consciences* of the pretended patriots of America have *already their prices !* It is very true that the certainty of these conclusions, painful to be drawn, *will forever exist in our archives.* What will be the old age of this government, if it is thus early decrepid ? Such, citizen, is the evident consequence of the system of finance conceived by Mr. Hamilton. He has made of a whole nation a stock jobbing, speculating, selfish people. Riches alone here fix consideration ; and as no one likes to be despised, they are universally sought after. Nevertheless this depravity has not yet embraced the mass of the people ; the effects of this pernicious system have as yet but slightly touched them. Still there are patriots, of whom I delight to entertain an idea worthy of that imposing title. Consult Monroe, he is of this number ; he had apprized me of the men whom the current of events had dragged along as bodies devoid of weight. His friend Madison is also an honest man. Jefferson, on whom the patriots cast their eyes to succeed the President, had foreseen this crisis. He prudently retired, in order to avoid making a figure against his inclination, in scenes, the secret of which will, soon or late, be brought to light.

" 17. *As soon as it was decided* that the French Republic *purchased no men to do their duty,* there were to be seen individuals *about whose conduct the government could at least form uneasy conjectures, giving themselves up* with a scandalous ostentation to its views, and even seconding its declarations. The popular societies soon emitted resolutions stamped with the same spirit, and who, although they may have been advised by a love of order, might nevertheless have omitted or uttered them with less solemnity. Then were seen coming from the very men whom we had been accustomed to regard as having little friendship for the system of the Treasurer, *harangues without end, in order to give a new direction to the public mind.* The militia, however, manifest some repugnance, particularly in Pennsylvania, for the service to which they were called. Several officers resign : at last, by excursions or harangues, incomplete requisitions are obtained, and scattered volunteer corps from different parts, make up the deficiency. How much more interesting, than the changeable men whom I have painted above,* were those plain citizens who answered the solicitations which were made to them to join the volunteers—" If we are required we will march, because we do not wish not to have a government, but to arm ourselves as volunteers would be in appearance subscribing implicitly to the excise system which we reprobate."

" 18. What I have said above, authorises then our resting on the opinions, become incontestible, that in the crisis which has burst, and in the means em-

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* *This is the point which will, by and by, arrest our attention. In the mean time, the reader will observe, that Fauchet confirms my account of the arming of the militia, and completely oversets that of his good friend the historian of the* New Annual Register.

ployed for restoring order, the true question was the destruction or the triumph of the Treasurer's plans. This being once established, let us pass over the facts related in the common dispatches, and see how the government, or the Treasurer, will take from the very stroke which threatened his system, the safe opportunity of humbling the adverse party, and of silencing their enemies whether open or concealed. The army marched: the President made known that he was going to command it; he set out for Carlisle; Hamilton, as I have understood, requested to follow him; the President dared not to refuse him. It does not require much penetration to divine the object of this journey: in the President it was wise; it might also be his duty. But in Mr. Hamilton it was a consequence of the profound policy which directs all his steps; a measure dictated by a perfect knowledge of the human heart. Was it not interesting for him, for his party, tottering under the weight of events without, and accusations within, to proclaim an intimacy more perfect than ever with the President, whose very name is a sufficient shield against the most formidable attacks? Now what more evident mark could the President give of his intimacy, than by suffering Mr. Hamilton, whose name even is understood in the west as that of a public enemy, to go and place himself at the head of the army which went, if I may use the expression, to cause his system to triumph against the opposition of the people? The presence of Mr. Hamilton with the army must attach it more than ever to his party: we see what ideas these circumstances give birth to on all sides; all, however, to the advantage of the Secretary.

"19. Three weeks had they encamped in the west without a single armed man appearing. However, the President, or those who wished to make the most of this manœuvre, made it public that he was going to command in person. The session of Congress being very near, it was wished to try whether there could not be obtained from the presses, which were supposed to have changed, a silence, whence to conclude the possibility of infringing the Constitution in its most essential part, in that which fixes the relation of the President with the Legislature. But the patriotic papers laid hold of this artful attempt. I am certain that the office of the Secretary of State, which alone remained at Philadelphia, (for while the Minister of Finance was with the army the Minister of War was on a tour to the province of Maine, 400 miles from Philadelphia,) maintained the controversy in favour of the opinion which it was desired to establish. A comparison between the President and the English monarch was introduced, who, far removed from Westminster, yet strictly fulfils his duty of sanctioning; it was much insisted on, that the Constitution declares that the President commands the armed force; this similitude was treated with contempt; the consequence of the power commanding in person, drawn from the right to command in chief (or direct) the force of the State, was ridiculed, and reduced to an absurdity, by supposing a fleet at sea and an army on land. The result of this controversy was, that some days after, it was announced that the President would come to open the approaching session.

"20. During his stay at Bedford, the President doubtless concerted the plan of the campaign with Mr. Lee, to whom he left the command in chief. The letter by which he delegates the command to him, is that of a virtuous man, at least as to the major part of the sentiments which it contains; he afterwards set out for Philadelphia, where he has just arrived, and Mr. Hamilton remains with the army.

"21. This last circumstance unveils all the plan of the Secretary; he presides over the military operations, in order to acquire, in the sight of his enemies, a formidable and imposing consideration. He and Mr. Lee, the commander in chief, agree perfectly in principles. The Governors of Jersey and Maryland harmonize entirely with them; the Governor of Pennsylvania, of whom it never would have been suspected, lived intimately and publicly with Hamilton. Such a union of persons would be matter sufficient to produce resistance in the western counties, even admitting they had not thought of any.

"22. The soldiers themselves are astonished at the scandalous gaiety, with which those who possess the secret, proclaim their approaching triumph. It is asked, of what use are 15,000 men in this country, in which provisions are scarce, and where are to be seized only some turbulent men at their plough? Those who conducted the expedition know this, the matter is to create a great expense; when the sums shall come to be assessed, no one will be willing to pay; and should each pay his assessment, it will be done in cursing the insurgent principles of the patriots.

"23. It is impossible to make a more able manœuvre for the opening of Congress. The passions, the generous indignation, which had agitated their minds in the last session, were about being renewed with still more vigour; there was nothing to announce of brilliant successes which they had promised. The hostilities of Great Britain on the continent, so long disguised, and now become evident, a commerce always harassed, ridiculous negotiations lingering at London, waiting until new conjunctures should authorise new insults such was the picture they were likely to have to offer the representatives of the people. But this crisis, and the great movements made to prevent its consequences, change the state of things. With advantage do they denounce an atrocious attack upon the Constitution, and appreciate the activity used to repress it! The aristocratical party will soon have understood the secret; all the misfortunes will be attributed to the partiots; the party of the latter is about being deserted by all the weak men, and this complete session will have gained.

"24. Who knows what will be the limits of this triumph? Perhaps advantage will be taken by it to obtain somelaws *for strengthening the government*, and still more precipitating the propensity, already visible, that it has towards aristocracy.

"25. Such are, citizen, the data which I possess concerning these events, and the consequences I draw from them; I wish I may be deceived in my calculations and the good disposition of the people; their attachment to principles leads me to expect it. I have perhaps, herein fallen into the repetition

of reflections and facts contained in other dispatches; but I wished to present together some views which I have reason to ascribe to the ruling party, and some able manœuvres invented to support themselves. Without participating in the passions of the parties, I observe them; and I owe to my country an exact and strict account of the situation of things. I shall make it my duty to keep you regularly informed of every change that may take place; above all, I shall apply myself to penetrate the disposition of the Legislature; that will not a little assist in forming the final idea which we ought to have of these movements, and what we should really fear or hope from them.

"Health and fraternity.

(SIGNED) "J. FAUCHET."

DECLARATION AND CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN.

Philadelphia, printed for the Society, August 8, 1797.

DECLARATION.

SIX hundred years have passed since division and fraud reduced Ireland to colonial subserviency; the division of her people has ever since subjected them to the lash and to the goad of a foreign tyranny—a tyranny more odious than Asiatic despotism.

In our day and generation we have seen and we have felt. It is not necessary, there is not now time coolly to count over the long, black catalogue of her baleful wrongs. There is not now time to argue and complain. This is the time to act! To act with energy we must act with union. Irishmen are united at home; we will not be disunited abroad.

Our love for freedom has not been lessened by what we have experienced of its effects, or for Ireland by our distance. Under the sacred influence of devotion to the union, equality, and liberty of all men, we gladly embrace the solemn ties by which we wish to be bound to one another, and hereby form ourselves into an association, under the name of "The American Society of United Irishmen," adopting the following

CONSTITUTION.

Section 1. That all such persons, and such only, shall be eligible to this society of United Irishmen, as shall have suffered in the cause of freedom; or who by their zeal for the rights of mankind, shall have rendered themselves distinguished and worthy of attachment and trust.

Section 2. That no person shall be proposed for admittance but by a member in his place.

Section 3. That no proposition for the admittance of a member shall be received unless it be seconded by another member present; and that it shall likewise be necessary for the proposer and seconder to vouch for the moral character and *civism* of the person proposed; in defect of which no election shall take place.

Section 4. Members shall have the privilege of proposing or seconding the proposal of candidates, in any section, as well as that to which they belong.

Section 5. A candidate proposed agreeable to the second, third, and fourth sections, shall not be ballotted for until the next meeting after that in which he has been proposed, unless known to two-thirds of the members present; (two black beans to reject without a reason, and one with reasons;) but upon his election, he shall be immediately admitted, under the following forms :—

Section 6. Before a person elected shall be considered a member, the President shall put to him the following questions; an affirmative to the first, fifth and sixth, and a negative answer to the second, third and fourth, shal be indispensable to admission as such.

Section 7. 1. Do you believe a free form of government and uncontrouled opinion on all subjects, to be the common rights of all the human species?

2. Do you think the people of Ireland are in possession of these rights?

3. Do you think the government of Great Britain ever was, or is now disposed to acknowledge or assent to the freedom of Ireland?

4. Do you think Great Britain ought of right to govern Ireland?

5. Are you willing to do all that in you lies to promote the emancipation of Ireland, and the establishment of a republican form of government there?

6. Are you willing to bind yourself by a solemn *obligation*, to the principles you have acknowledged?

Section 8. That upon the candidate answering these questions, as required by the sixth section, the following shall be administered as a test, all present standing :—

TEST.

I, A. B. in the presence of the *Supreme Being*, do most solemnly swear, that I will, to the utmost of my power, promote the emancipation of Ireland from the tyranny of the British government. That I will use the like endeavours for increasing and perpetuating the warmest affection among all religious denominations of men, and for the attainment of *liberty and equality to all mankind, in whatever nation they may reside.* Moreover, I do swear, that I will, as far as in me lies, promote the interest of this and every other society of United Irishmen, and of each of its members, and that I will never, from fear of punishment or hope of reward, divulge any of its *secrets* given to me as such.

Section 9. That the TEST of this society, the INTENTION of this institution, (in all other respects than a *social body*, attached to freedom,) be considered as SECRET AND INVIOLABLE in all cases, but between members and in the body of this society.

Section 10. That nevertheless, a member of the society shall not be considered as divulging its secrets, who shall propound to persons disposed to become members, the sense of the six propositions which *precede the test.*

Section 11. The member thus initiated shall subscribe his name to the constitution, and pay to the Treasurer half a dollar.

Section 12. The monthly subscription of each member shall be a quarter of a dollar; payable on the first meeting in every month: if the member be elected after the twentieth of any month, he shall pay no more than his fee of initiation for that month.

Section 13. If any member neglect to pay the respective sums before mentioned, for the space of three months, the secretary of his section shall then signify, in writing, to the member, the amount of the arrears, and demand payment; and that in default thereof, his name and the sum due shall be publicly read by the treasurer of the section to which he belongs, on the three next succeeding meetings thereof; and if his arrears be not paid on the third reading he shall be excluded the society. But excluded members, upon paying all arrears due, and the usual contributions that were payable during their exclusion, may apply for admission, agreeable to the usual form. Provided nevertheless, that this rule shall not extend to such members as shall declare their inability to pay.

Section 14. Any person elected by ballot, who shall not attend three successive meetings after his election, shall forfeit it, unless due cause be shown to the proper section for his absence.

OF THE OFFICERS OF SECTIONS.

Section 1. There shall be a President and Secretary for each section, elected by ballot, who shall continue in office *six weeks*—they shall be re-eligible after a period equal to that during which they were in office.

Section 2. That a Treasurer shall be appointed by ballot who shall continue in office for *three months*, and shall not be re-eligible until the expiration of *three months*.

Section 3. The Secretary shall have power, at the desire of the President, to convoke *extra meetings*.

Section 4. Each section shall meet *weekly*, or oftener in special cases.

Section 5. The hours of meeting shall be at seven o'clock from the 25th of September till the 25th of March, and at eight from the 25th of March till the 25th of September.

Section 6. The chair shall be taken at the above hours precisely, if there shall be ten members present.

Section 7. That in the absence of the President, or any other officer, the section shall call a member to the office, *pro tem.*

Section 8. That upon the President taking the chair, he shall direct the Secretary to read the minutes of the preceding meeting.

Section 9. The roll shall be called previously to every adjournment.

Section 10. That balloting for, and the nomination or initiation of candidates shall precede further business.

Section 11. That on open votes the President shall have a casting voice, and when he speaks to a motion, he shall vacate the chair.

Section 12. That every motion shall be made standing; shall be delivered to the President or chairman in writing if required; must be seconded by another member, also standing, before it shall be received by the President: any matter of peculiar importance shall first be debated in a committee of the whole.

Section 13. The mover of a question shall have liberty to speak in reply, but no other shall speak more than once, but in explanation on the same subject except in a committee of the whole.

Section 14. In matter of order, the President or chairman shall decide finally.

Section 15. That in each section a committee shall be appointed to select *extracts from political works*, to be read occasionally.

Section 16. That fines shall be levied for disorderly behaviour, but not exceeding fifty cents each, which fine shall be nominated by the President or chairman; and in case of appeal, be decided by the majority of members present.

Section 17. No person shall interrupt the chairman or any other member while speaking, unless to the point of order; repetition of interruption, contrary to this rule, to subject the disorderly member to such censure, besides a fine, as the society shall think fit. Extreme disorderly behaviour shall subject the offender to expulsion, at the will of three-fourths of the members present.

Section 18. A member absenting himself from his section three nights successively, (without acquainting it of the cause in writing or by means of another member, who shall declare upon his honour, that he is authorised by such member to make an apology for him, and offering some sufficient reason for his absence,) shall be liable to a fine of fifty cents, and on refusing to pay such fine, shall not be entitled to vote in his section, or transact any other duty in the society *until he shall have paid his fine.*

OF CERTIFICATES.

Section 1. Certificates shall be provisionally granted to members of the society removing from their vicinage, which shall be signed by the President and Secretary of the section to which the members belong.

Section 2. A member going to a foreign country, or to a distant part of the United States, shall give a *week's notice of his intention;* but in urgent cases the committee of secrecy of his section, may grant such certificate.

Section 3. No member is entitled to a certificate, but in the foregoing cases.

Section 4. That members on their return must redeliver their certificates to the President or Secretary, in the presence of the section to *which they belong.*

OF AN ENLARGED ORGANIZATION.

Section 1. That when any section shall consist of eighty members in a city or large town, it shall separate into two sections: *country sections* may separate as their peculiar circumstances may render *expedient.*

Section 2. That any section, *state committee,* or the *general executive committee,* shall have the power of appointing an *agent* or *agents,* and furnishing him or them with copies of the Constitution, for the purpose of *forming new sections.*

Section 3. Each section shall, quarterly, make an exact return of the *numbers, names, residences,* and *occupations of its members,* to its proper state committee; and the state committee shall make similar returns, at like

periods, to the *general executive committee*, who shall keep an exact register of the names thus returned.

Section 4. As soon as there shall be two or more sections in any State of the American Union, they shall be represented in a *state committee*, in the following manner, *viz.* when a section shall amount to eight members, they shall send *one delegate* to said committee; when to twenty-two, two delegates; and when to thirty-three, three delegates, who shall not be re-eligible until they have been out of office for a time equal to their term of service—two-thirds of whom shall form a quorum. The state committee shall meet monthly, or oftener, if necessary, and be partially renewed by a member from each section every month.

Section 5. *Distant sections* shall have the power of appointing persons to represent them in their respective state committees, from among their brethren whose local situation may render attendance more convenient.

Section 6. Each section shall appoint a committee of secrecy and correspondence, to communicate with the state committee, which shall be regulated in like manner. It shall also elect every six weeks, a delegate, and *sub-delegate* to attend the meetings of neighbouring sections, and report proceedings.

Section 7. That the Secretary of every section shall, when a member takes his seat, and subscribes the test, take down his place of residence, which he shall carefully transmit to the *committee of secrecy* thereof, who shall divide the sections into *sub-sections of eight members*, who may live contiguous to one another; that every *eighth man shall have the charge of the other seven members, to warn them in cases of urgency*, or to extraordinary meetings of the section: the secret committee or Secretary of the section shall, by warning those eighths, consider themselves as warning the whole section.

Section 8. When two or more state committees have been formed they shall elect two of their members from each to a general executive committee, the first of whom, from each state, shall go out of office by lot, and the rest in rotation, and be replaced by a new member every three months, and not be re-eligible until a period equal to their term of service. *The general executive committee is to possess the direction of the great interests of the whole society, and to keep up a constant communication with the committee of the different states.*

Section 9. The general executive committee shall, when their number exceeds four, elect from among themselves, a committee of secrecy and correspondence, consisting of three members, one of whom shall go out of office every three months, and shall be re-eligible after a period equal to their time of service.

Section 10. The general executive committee shall assemble as often as the interests of the institution demand, or when required so to do by the committee of any state.

Section 11. There shall be a treasurer for each state, to whom the treasurers of the sections are to return quarterly payments and accounts. Each of the state treasurers is, at like periods to make similar returns to the treasurer appointed by the general executive committee, who is to con-

tinue in office three months, and to be accountable to their committee of secrecy and correspondence; he shall also, if required, exhibit his accounts to the secret committee of any section. The state treasurer shall be appointed by the state committee.

Section 12. Every officer, and every member of a committee, is responsible to the body by whom he was elected, and liable to any punishment they may, on account of delinquency, inflict.

Section 13. No person shall be eligible to hold two offices within his respective section.

Section 14. That when the state committees, or the general executive committee, or a majority of the sections, recommend a revision of the preceding constitution, it shall take place.

REPORT OF FRENCH DEPREDATIONS

Report of the Secretary of State, respecting the depredations committed on the commerce of the United States, since the 1st of October, 1796.

AMERICAN vessels have been captured since the first of October, 1796, by the armed vessels of Spain, Great Britain and France. Of captures by Spanish cruisers, one was the polacre Independence, Captain Robertson, laden wholly on account of the United States, with stores for Algiers, in pursuance of the treaty with that regency; she was taken on the 16th of February last, at the entrance of the Straits of Gibraltar, and carried into Cadiz. The polacre's papers were perfectly clear; among others, she had a special passport under the hand of the President of the United States, and the great seal thereof, declaring the vessel to be the property of two citizens of the United States, (whose names were inserted in the passport,) and that the cargo was wholly the property of the United States, and destined for Algiers. She had also the passport of the Dey. The General of the Marine had cleared the polacre and cargo, but the owners of the privateer appealed to the tribunal at Madrid, and on the 31st of March, there had been no decision known at Cadiz.

There have probably been a number of captures by Spanish cruisers, although not particularly specified; the Consul of the United States, in one of the ports of Spain, having informed, that almost daily American vessels were taken and brought in by French and Spanish privateers.

Captures and losses by British cruisers, the Secretary presumes, *have not been numerous;* for, the citizens of the United States having, these three years past, been accustomed to look up to the government for aid in prosecuting their claims, it is not to be doubted that generally these cases have been reported to the department of state. An abstract of such as have been communicated is annexed.

In order to present a clearer view of French depredations, it will be necessary to notice the rules which she has prescribed to her cruisers and tribunals.

As applicable to captures made since last October, the decree of the Executive Directory of the 2d of July, 1796, merits the first attention. It announces that the conduct of France towards neutrals will be regulated by the manner in which they should suffer the English to treat them. At Malaga and Cadiz, the French Consuls have interpreted this decree to authorise the capture and condemnation of American vessels, for the single circumstance of their being destined to a British port. But its fullest effect has been produced in the

West-Indies, whose seas swarm with privateers and gun-boats, which have been called forth by the latitude allowed to their depredations by the indefinite terms of that decree, and the explanatory orders of the agents of the Directory at Guadaloupe and St. Domingo. Two of these decrees have been already communicated to Congress, and it may be only requisite here to refer to them.

At Guadaloupe an order was issued by Victor Hughes and Lebas, dated the first of February last, authorising the capture and condemnation of all neutral vessels bound to certain enumerated ports, which it is pretended in the decree were delivered up to the English, and are occupied and defended by emigrants; and also of such vessels as should be cleared out generally for the West-Indies. This decree refers to and enforces a decree of the 24th of December, 1796, issued in conformity with the decree of the Executive Directory of the 2d of July, 1796, so far as it is not departed from by the decree of the 27th of February last. The decree of the 24th of December has not been received at the department of state; but is supposed to direct the confiscation of the cargoes of neutral vessels bound to or from British ports occupied by them before the present war. For it appears, that whilst they have confiscated both vessels and cargo, in cases which fall within the scope of the decree of the 1st of February, they have spared the vessels, and confiscated only the cargo, where she had been bound to or from such acknowledged British port.

To the foregoing, succeeded the decree of the Executive Directory of the 2d of March last, which has been communicated to Congress during the present session. That copy of the decree was taken from a newspaper, and is now found to be imperfect. A translation from the decree, as officially published by the Directory, is annexed to this report. Although we do not yet know what is its operation, yet it cannot fail to produce very great vexation and loss to the American commerce; the documents it requires, to prevent confiscations, not having been before declared indispensable, or demanded, and no time being allowed for the vessels of the United States to provide themselves therewith.

Besides these several decrees, and others which, being more limited, the former have superseded, the old marine ordinances of France have been revived, and enforced with severity, both in Europe and in the West-Indies. The want of, or informality in a bill of lading; the want of a certified list of the passengers and crew; the supercargo being by birth a foreigner, although a naturalized citizen of the United States; the destruction of a paper of any kind soever; and the want of a sea-letter, have been deemed sufficient to warrant a condemnation of American property, although the proofs of the property were indubitable.

The West-Indies, as before remarked, have exhibited the most lamentable scenes of depredation. Indeed, the conduct of the public agents, and of the commissioned cruisers there, has surpassed all former examples. The American vessels have not only been captured under the decrees before mentioned, but, when brought to trial in the French tribunals, the vessels and cargoes

have been condemned, without admitting the owners or their agents to make any defence.

This seems to be done systematically, and for the obvious purpose of insuring condemnations. By this monstrous abuse in judicial proceedings, frauds and falsehoods, as well as flimsy and shameless pretexts, pass unexamined and uncontradicted, and are made the foundation of sentences and condemnations.

The persons also of our citizens have been basely insulted, and cruelly imprisoned; and, in the forms used towards prisoners of war, they have been exchanged with the British for Frenchmen. American property going to or coming from neutral, or even French ports, has been seized; it has even been forcibly taken *when in their own ports*, without any pretence, or no other than that they wanted it. At the same time their cruisers are guilty of wanton and barbarous excesses, by detaining, plundering, firing at, burning, and distressing American vessels.

Official papers to prove the very numerous depredations on our commerce and the atrocities and abuses attending the capture and condemnation of our vessels and cargoes by French cruisers and tribunals, not having been publicly called for, few have been received. Of former claims, for injuries committed since the beginning of 1793, and of which a report was made to the House of Representatives on the 27th of February last, a very small proportion had been satisfied; and for a considerable time no payments had been obtained. Under this distant and discouraging prospect of obtaining compensation, the citizens, suffering by more recent French depredations, have generally omitted to present accounts of their losses; and they have in many cases had no opportunity of getting the evidence of the condemnations, which are attainable before the tribunals of other nations; the mock trials, as before observed, being very often carried on, and sentences of condemnation pronounced, in the absence of the American owner, master or supercargo.

Such documents as the department of state is possessed of, concerning these depredations, are annexed; and to them is added a concise abstract of the cases. These support the principal facts above stated, and show the nature of French depredations. To supply, in some measure, the want of official papers, an examination has been made of two newspapers published in Philadelphia, the Gazette of the United States and the Philadelphia Gazette, from the 1st of July, 1796, to the present time. Between the 1st of July and the 1st of October, few captures were made, the decree of the Directory of July 2d not being in general operation until October. This examination was chiefly made prior to the call of the House of Representatives for a report on this subject, with a view to ascertain the number of French captures, and the circumstances attending them; and the result of the whole is annexed. It is regretted that the time did not permit a re-examination of those papers, to ascertain likewise the captures made by the British cruisers. The editors of those two gazettes agree in saying that no great attention was paid to the subject, for the purpose of inserting accounts of all the captures which were published in the various other newspapers; yet the number collected exceeds three hundred, of which but few escape condemnation. The evidence arising

from the multiplied and concurrent publications of these facts in the newspapers, some of them certified by the American masters of the captured vessels, cannot fail of producing a conviction of the reality of the evils represented.

There have been frequent accounts of attempts to effect condemnations, by bribing the officers and seamen of our vessels to swear falsely; but it was reserved to the present war when offered bribes were refused, and threats despised, to endeavour to accomplish the object by *torture*. This was inflicted by a French privateer. The evidence of this fact appears in the protest of Captain William Martin, master of the ship Cincinnatus of Baltimore, in which he is supported by the testimony of his mate, and one of his seamen. A copy of the protest is annexed, together with an extract of a letter from Mr. King, minister of the United States in London, who examined Captain Martin's thumbs, and says, *the marks of the torturing screws will go with him to his grave.*

All which is respectfully submitted.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Department of State, June 21, 1797.

Extract from the protest of Captain Martin.

"And the said master for himself now saith, that the officer and crew of the latter vessel examined the papers respecting his said vessel and her lading, and expressed no doubt that the ship was an American, but insisted the cargo to be English property, and assured him if he would acknowledge it to be so, his full freight should be paid, and he have a present of one thousand pounds; which overtures the said master would not pay any other attention to, than declaring the whole property to belong solely to Aquilla Brown, of Baltimore aforesaid, merchant. Whereupon *the French officer thumb-screwed the said master* in the cabin of the said brig, kept him in torture to *extort a declaration that the said cargo was English property, for nearly four hours,* but without having its desired effect, when a vessel heaving in sight, he was liberated from the barbarous punishment he had undergone."

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